

ND2930

. H36









THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

PUBLICATION No. 6

GREEK AND SYRIAN MINIATURES  
IN JERUSALEM



LIBRARY  
JAN 18 1952  
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

# GREEK AND SYRIAN MINIATURES IN JERUSALEM

With an Introduction and a Description of Each of the  
Seventy-one Miniatures Reproduced

WILLIAM HENRY PAINE HATCH

Ph. D. (Harvard), D.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York), Th. D. (Strasbourg)

Professor in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts

The Mediaeval Academy of America

Cambridge, Massachusetts

1931

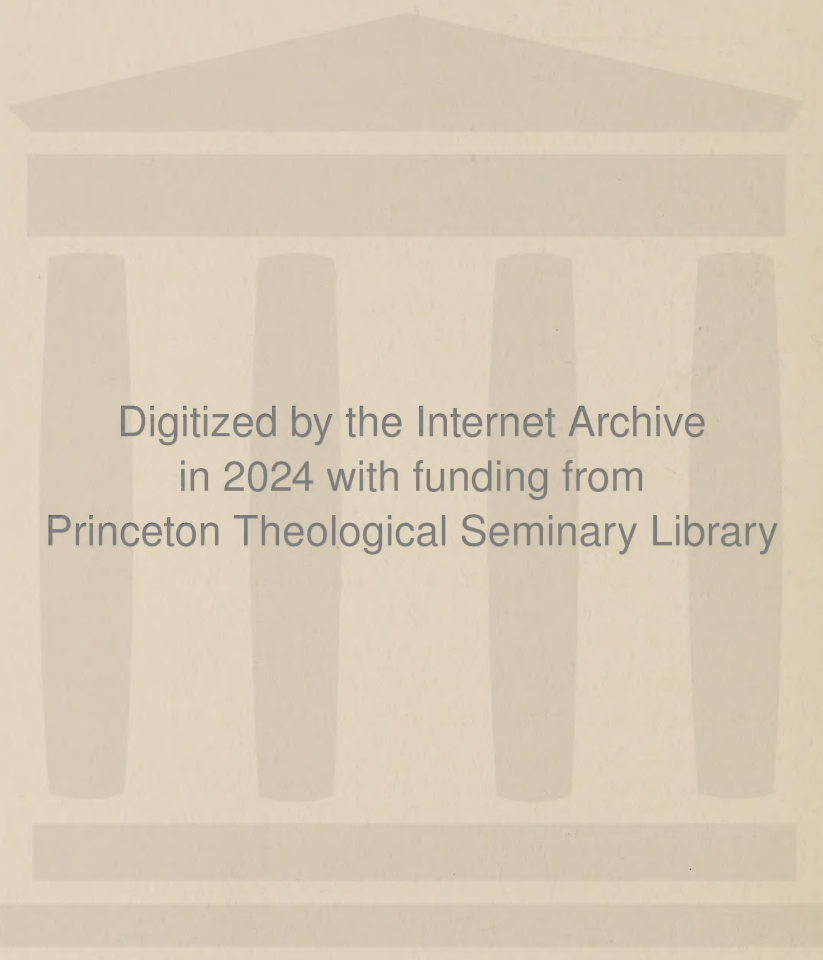


COPYRIGHT, 1931  
BY THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

*750 copies have been printed,  
of which this is  
No. 463*

PRINTED AT  
THE WAVERLY PRESS  
PLATES MANUFACTURED BY  
THE MERIDEN GRAVURE COMPANY

AVIAE  
OPTIMAE ATQVE CARISSIMAE  
CVI MVLTA DEBEO  
SACRVM



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2024 with funding from  
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

<https://archive.org/details/greeksyrianminia00hatc>



## PREFACE

THE seventy-one miniatures which are described and reproduced in the present volume all belong to the Byzantine period, and most of them were painted in the Second Golden Age. Eight of the Greek pictures, viz., those contained in Codex 5 (Τάφου) and the eight Syrian miniatures are of the thirteenth century; but all the rest are the works of artists who lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. All are religious in character, some being scenes and others portraits. With the exception of four of the Syrian pictures (Plates LXV, LXVII, LXIX, and LXX), which have been reproduced in half-tone by a German scholar,<sup>1</sup> all are now published for the first time.

In selecting the miniatures two principles have been followed. First, in the case of manuscripts which contain comparatively few pictures, all have been included in the collection. Second, in the case of codices which are profusely illustrated, only a few miniatures are given; but they have been carefully chosen for the purpose of conveying an adequate idea of the artist's style.

In accordance with the first principle all the pictures found in the Greek and Syriac manuscripts of the New Testament now in Jerusalem are here reproduced, provided they were painted before the year 1300.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Reil, 'Der Bildschmuck des Evangeliars von 1221 im Syrischen Kloster zu Jerusalem,' *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxxiv (1911), pp. 138 ff. For a brief notice of the manuscript see A. Baumstark, 'Drei illustrierte syrische Evangeliare,' *Oriens Christianus*, iv (1904), p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> There are several Greek miniatures of the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries and two Syrian pictures of the seventeenth century in the Greek Patriarchal Library. Cod. 46 (Σταυρού) contains miniatures of Luke and John (both seated), which date from the fourteenth century; Cod. 200 (Σάββα) has a picture of Mark (seated), which was painted in the same century; and Cod.

## Preface

These manuscripts are not embellished with many miniatures. On the other hand Codices 14 (Τάφου) and 5 (Τάφου) contain respectively 64 and 117 pictures, and in accordance with the second principle I have endeavored to make a judicious selection among them. In the case of Codex 14 the frontispiece and the headpiece to each discourse, making eighteen in all, are given; but all the marginal miniatures are omitted. I hope later to publish all the pictures contained in this important manuscript. Eight miniatures have been chosen from Codex 5. They are not only among the best preserved of the 117 pictures found in the manuscript; but they are also representative of the miniaturist's style, which is remarkably consistent throughout the volume.

All the Greek pictures are preserved in codices belonging to the Greek Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, and the Syrian miniatures are taken from a manuscript in the Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark in that city. For permission to work and photograph in these libraries my best thanks are due to His Beatitude the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem and to His Lordship the Bishop of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the Holy City. I also desire to express my gratitude to the Deacon Simon of the Greek Patriarchal Library and to the librarian Hanna of the Syrian Orthodox Convent for the kindness and courtesy which they showed me during the progress of my work.

Most of the pictures, Greek as well as Syrian, were taken during my visit to Palestine in the spring of 1929; but a few were made for me after my return to America. They were all photographed under the personal

---

62 (Τάφου), which is dated 1724 A.D., contains a miniature of each of the four evangelists (all seated and each with his proper symbol). In Cod. syr. 1, which was finished in 1679 A.D., there are pictures of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem and the incredulity of Thomas. Cf. A. Baumstark, 'Drei illustrierte syrische Evangeliiare,' *op. cit.*, iv (1904), pp. 409 ff. For a description of the manuscript see also K. M. Koikylides, Κατάλογος συνοπτικὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Κοινοῦ τοῦ Π. Τάφου ἀποκειμένων συριακῶν χειρογράφων (Berlin, 1898), pp. 5 f.

## Preface

direction of my friend H. Lewis Larsson, Esq., the Swedish consul in Jerusalem. Professor A. M. Friend, Jr, of Princeton University very kindly furnished me with the photographs for Plates XXI, XXIX, XXXII, XXXIV, XLI, XLII, XLIII, and XLIV.

Unfortunately it is impossible on account of the expense involved to reproduce the miniatures in color. Nevertheless, it is believed that those who are more or less familiar with miniature painting will have little difficulty in supplying the proper colors. Red, purple in which red predominates, brown, green, and yellow are dark in the reproductions. Blue is light, and light green is between blue and yellow. Black and white appear as such.

The most important books for the study of Byzantine miniature painting are mentioned in the bibliography. I have used them all with profit; but I have learned most from the treatises of Kondakov, Millet, and Diehl. For the history of the Eastern Empire I am indebted to the standard works of Edward Gibbon<sup>1</sup> and George Finlay,<sup>2</sup> as well as to Charles Diehl's brief and illuminating *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925).

At the beginning of the work I received encouragement and advice from my friend, Bernhard Berenson, Esq., of Florence, Italy; and to him I am duly grateful. To Professor A. M. Friend, Jr, who read the Introduction and made certain valuable suggestions, I wish to express my hearty thanks. I also desire to thank Dr C. C. McCown, Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, who kindly verified certain data at the Greek Patriarchal Library and aided me in obtaining

<sup>1</sup> *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury (London: Methuen and Co., 1896-1900).

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877).



## Preface

some of the photographs which were taken after my departure from Palestine.

Finally, I wish to express my cordial thanks to the Mediaeval Academy of America for undertaking the publication of the volume. Mr John Marshall, the Executive Secretary of the Academy, has been much interested in the work and has given it his personal attention as it has passed through the press.

WILLIAM HENRY PAINE HATCH.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS,  
DECEMBER 16, 1930.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- N. P. Kondakov, *Histoire de l' art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, Paris: Librairie de l' Art, 1886-1891.
- C. Bayet, *L' art byzantin*, third edition, Paris: Picard, 1904.
- G. Millet, *L' art byzantin* (in A. Michel's *Histoire de l' Art*, I, pp. 127-301, Paris: Colin, 1905-1929).<sup>1</sup>
- O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.
- J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1911.
- O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1914-1918.
- H. Glück, *Die christliche Kunst des Ostens*, Berlin: Cassirer, 1923.
- L. Bréhier, *L' art byzantin*, Paris: Laurens, 1924.
- O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.
- C. Diehl, *Manuel d' art byzantin*, second edition, Paris: Picard, 1925-1926.<sup>2</sup>
- J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926.
- H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei*, Vienna: Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1926.
- H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *Byzantine Art*, London: E. Benn, Ltd., 1926.
- L. Bréhier, *L' art chrétien*, second edition, Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1928.
- C. Diehl, *L' art chrétien primitif et l' art byzantin*, Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1928.

<sup>1</sup> This treatise is cited in the footnotes as *L' art byzantin*.

<sup>2</sup> This work is cited in the footnotes as *Manuel*.





# CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION

1. Some General Observations on Miniatures and Miniature Painting	p. 3
2. Miniature Painting in Egypt, Greece, and Rome	10
3. Miniature Painting among Oriental Peoples	16
4. Miniature Painting in the West	19
5. The Byzantine Period in Greek History	19
6. Miniature Painting in the Byzantine Empire	24
i. The First Golden Age	26
ii. The Iconoclastic Period	35
iii. The Second Golden Age	38
iv. The Final Period	47
7. Concluding Remarks	52

## DESCRIPTIONS OF MINIATURES AND PLATES

### Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem:

Codex 14 (Τάφου)	Plates I-XVIII	58
31 "	XIX-XXII	76
38 "	XXIII	80
49 "	XXIV-XXVII	81
56 "	XXVIII-XXXI	85
60 "	XXXII-XXXV	89
37 "	XXXVI-XXXVIII	93
41 "	XXXIX	96
47 "	XL-L	97
23 (Φωτίου Παρθενίου)	LI, LII	108
28 "	LIII-LV	110
5 (Τάφου)	LVI-LXIII	113

### Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Jerusalem:

Codex 28	Plates LXIV-LXXI	121
The Text of Codex 14 (Τάφου) and Codex 5 (Τάφου)	Plate LXXII	129

INDEX OF PLATES	133
INDEX OF SUBJECTS	135



GREEK AND SYRIAN MINIATURES  
IN JERUSALEM





# INTRODUCTION

## *I. Some General Observations on Miniatures and Miniature Painting.*

THE pictures which are found in ancient and mediaeval manuscripts are technically known as miniatures. The word is derived from the Latin *minium*, which means cinnabar or red-lead. A pigment made of minium was much used in painting. But, as in many other cases, the derivation of the word gives only a hint at its meaning, and its scope and application must be learned in other ways.

The idea of smallness, which is often associated with the word 'miniature,' is wholly secondary. It probably arose from the fact that miniatures are small works compared with frescoes and paintings on wooden panels. Moreover, the notion seemed to be supported by etymology, for the first syllable of the word suggested that it was connected with the familiar Latin adjectives *minor* and *minimus*. This philological accident no doubt helped to fasten the idea of smallness upon the term. In modern English the phrase 'in miniature' has come to mean simply 'on a small scale.'

Pigments in various shades of red were prepared from cinnabar and red-lead, and they were in great favor with illuminators of books and painters of miniatures. But other colors, such as brown, blue, grey, and green in varying hues, were also used. The background of pictures was oftentimes made of gold-leaf, sometimes dull and sometimes highly burnished. In certain schools the gold was pale, and in others it had a reddish tinge. Thus the gold of England and the Netherlands was pale, whereas that of France was reddish. The color of the gold depended on

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

the alloy with which it was mixed. Silver produced pale gold and copper reddish.

Miniature painting should be clearly distinguished from illumination, though the two are sometimes confused. They are different both in character and in purpose. Illumination properly refers to the embellishment of pages and single letters, usually capitals, with colored pigments, gold, or silver. The ornamentation consists of designs of various sorts—interlaced patterns, arabesques, human figures, animals, birds, leaves, flowers, fruits, nuts, etc. Miniatures on the other hand are pictures of persons, animals, objects, and scenes. Illumination is solely for the purpose of decoration or embellishment, but miniatures are illustrative as well as ornamental. They please, but they also instruct. A miniature painter must understand the text which he is going to illustrate, or at least he must be familiar with the story which is related in it, if he is to succeed in his task. But on the other hand a craftsman totally ignorant of the contents of a book might illuminate it very beautifully, for illumination requires technical skill rather than knowledge.

Less attention has been paid to miniature painting than the subject deserves. It lacks the popular appeal of architecture or sculpture or painting on canvas; but it is much more than mere decoration, and it is not a minor art like goldsmiths' work or enameling. It is closely allied to mosaic work and fresco painting, and it has some affinity with the other arts just mentioned. The more or less conventional buildings which form the background of many miniatures were taken from the stage scenery of the ancient theatre; certain poses seen in the pictures which adorn manuscripts are derived from Greek statues of poets, orators, and philosophers; and some of the early painters betray their indebtedness to the artists who illustrated books.

Miniature painting is one of the manifestations of a great culture, and

## Introduction

it reveals to some extent the spirit of the time that produced it. For this reason it has perennial interest, and well repays one for the time and labor expended on the study of it.

Most of the pictures are interesting for their own sake as works of art, and occasionally one finds a miniature which far surpasses most frescoes and canvases in artistic merit. As an example of this one may mention the representation of the Annunciation in a codex in Florence.<sup>1</sup> The pictures in this manuscript were painted by two brothers, Monte di Giovanni and Gherardo, near the end of the fifteenth century. They were members of the Florentine School, and their style recalls that of Ghirlandajo. This is the finest and most beautiful miniature the present writer has ever seen.

But apart from their intrinsic worth as works of art miniatures are interesting and significant from several points of view. For example, an illustrated manuscript is itself a living witness to the culture of the period in which it was produced. It testifies on the one hand to the painter's artistic skill and power, and on the other it shows what sort of books were appreciated and enjoyed by cultivated readers. Incidentally it throws some light on their education, and it indicates the general character of their thoughts. Miniature painting is thus an important chapter in the history of the mediaeval book.

Miniatures reflect in a vivid and impressive manner the life and culture of ancient and mediaeval times. Persons who lived in earlier periods and under different material conditions are often depicted in the garb and in the surroundings with which the painter himself was familiar. This is also true in the case of large paintings and frescoes. Indeed, to this kind of anachronism we owe much of our knowledge of the dress, architecture,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Laur. Aedil. Flor. Eccl. 109. See G. Biagi, *Reproductions de manuscrits enluminés* (Florence: De Marinis & C., 1914), Plate xxxix and p. 15.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

arts, industries, occupations, and customs of late Roman and mediaeval times.<sup>1</sup>

In like manner the legends, beliefs, and practices of the Church are often represented in miniatures. For example, the martyrdoms of the saints and incidents taken from their lives are depicted in many manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Such stories occupied among religiously minded people somewhat the same position as novels do with us. They provided both entertainment and moral instruction. Pictures of the miracles wrought by a saint or the agonies connected with his death were interesting and instructive, and they also stimulated devotion. Miniatures of this sort often furnish valuable data to the student of hagiography.

So, too, miniature painters employed their art to portray the pious beliefs of Christians, and by so doing they served a useful purpose. Doctrines were made vivid and real, and they were thus so deeply impressed upon men's minds that they could hardly be forgotten. For example, we read in the New Testament that Christ after his death 'went and preached to the spirits in prison.'<sup>3</sup> Starting from this bald statement, Christian imagination pictured our Lord as the mighty deliverer of various Old Testament personages from the gloomy realm of Hades, and this imaginative picture was often reproduced in miniatures.<sup>4</sup>

Incidentally also from the pictures which adorn mediaeval books one can frequently learn something about clerical vestments, ecclesiastical furnishings, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church. Thus in the famous gospel manuscript at Rossano of the sixth century there is a miniature illustrating the Communion of the Apostles.<sup>5</sup> One of the latter

<sup>1</sup> For an example of spinning and weaving see Plate LXIII.

<sup>2</sup> See Plate VI.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Peter 3 : 19.

<sup>4</sup> See Plates II and LXVIII.

<sup>5</sup> The Lord's Supper is represented in art sometimes as a banquet and sometimes as the Communion of the Apostles. It is depicted as a banquet in Plate LXV.



## Introduction

stands before Christ holding his right hand in the palm of the left in the manner prescribed by Cyril of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The Lord is about to put a small piece of bread into the hand of the Apostle, whose head is inclined forward in order that he may take it into his mouth.<sup>2</sup> This example and the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph will suffice to show how much the pictures in mediaeval manuscripts can teach us concerning the legends and customs of the Church.

When we find a certain costume or rite represented in a miniature, we must not assume that it was necessarily in use in the time of the artist. The same principle holds also in the case of furniture and architecture. It is necessary to make some allowance for convention and tradition, for they both exerted much influence, and it was impossible for a painter to be entirely free and untrammelled. A certain artistic tradition gradually grew up and became fixed, and certain motifs in course of time came to be regarded as standard. Thus the miniaturist had very little freedom in his work, probably less than the fresco artist or the mosaicist. Just as the good scribe copied faithfully the text that lay before him, so the miniature painter aimed at reproducing his original with fidelity and accuracy. There was little room for deviation from it or for invention. This conservatism or traditionalism gives continuity to the history of miniature painting and makes it a living organism, like a political institution or a nation.

Miniature painting is closely related to frescoing. The latter was on a larger scale and had a wider appeal; but the two had much the same effect

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Catechetical Lect.* xxiii. 21 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxiii, 1124 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Haseloff, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis* (Berlin, 1898), pp. 25 f., 102 ff., and Plate vi; and A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano* (Rome, 1907), pp. 4, 14, and Plate vi. I have not seen this codex myself; but Muñoz's excellent reproduction of the miniature leaves no doubt whatever that F. X. von Funk is wrong in maintaining that the bread is about to be put into the Apostle's mouth, and that therefore the pictures cannot be earlier than the eighth century. Cf. *Historisches Jahrbuch [der Görres-Gesellschaft]*, xvii (1896), pp. 336 ff.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

and served essentially the same purpose, for both were at once ornamental and instructive. Miniatures in manuscripts were often taken by fresco artists as models for their works. For instance, there is a wall painting in the Abbey of La Vaudieu in the department of Haute-Loire, which represents Christ enthroned in glory above and the Virgin and the Apostles below. It clearly embodies an Oriental tradition, and it is practically certain that the artist used an illustrated codex as his model.<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts containing pictures thus played an important part in the dissemination of Byzantine art.

Less obvious at first sight is the relation between miniature painting and sculpture. Nevertheless, the close connection between the two arts is clear. For example, there was a notable revival of sculpture in southern France in the twelfth century, and M. Mâle has shown that the sculptors of that period often took as the models for their works the pictures which they found in manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> The carvers in stone were inspired by the artists who illustrated books.

Moreover, certain motifs of Oriental origin are found in some churches of Western Europe—in Germany as well as in Italy and France. Among these imported motifs, which are sometimes thoroughly fantastic in character, may be mentioned the column resting on the back of a lion or some other animal and the knotted column.<sup>3</sup> These designs were copied directly from manuscripts which had been brought from the East to the West.<sup>4</sup> The latter could be easily carried from place to place, and some-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle en France* (third edition, Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1928), pp. 32 ff. For a reproduction of the fresco see L. Giron, *Peintures murales du département de la Haute-Loire* (Paris: Leroux, 1911), Plate II.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff. He says (p. 43): 'La miniature fut donc le modèle dont s'inspirèrent les artistes; c'est elle qui a donné à la sculpture naissante son caractère.' He concludes (p. 44): 'Pour nos sculpteurs, la principale source d'inspiration fut la miniature.'

<sup>3</sup> For an example of a knotted column see Plate XXIV.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.

## Introduction

times they traveled great distances. A mediaeval book adorned with good miniatures was an important vehicle of culture.

Iconography is related to textual criticism in much the same way as the stylistic criticism of miniatures is related to palaeography. Just as textual criticism deals with types of texts, so iconography has to do with types of pictures. Similarly the stylistic critic discusses styles of miniatures, just as the palaeographer investigates styles of handwriting. Each of these sciences has its own principles and methods, and the expert in one field is rarely an authority in another. Stylistic criticism and palaeography often supplement and confirm each other by furnishing evidence bearing on the same question from different points of view.

The miniatures in an illustrated manuscript are often a great help in determining the date of the codex. One must of course be conversant with the history of miniature painting, and the testimony of the pictures must coincide at least roughly with that of the script. In such a case the conclusion reached is doubly sure, because it is based upon two different sets of data. For example, both the miniatures and the handwriting of the Quedlinburg fragments of the Old Testament point to the fourth century, so that there can be little or no doubt that this beautiful book was a product of that period.<sup>1</sup>

It is also important to know the provenance of manuscripts. This can sometimes be learned from the style of the writing, for certain hands prevailed in certain places. Occasionally it is possible to determine the provenance of an illustrated codex from the character of the miniatures. For example, the Rossano Gospels, the earliest manuscript of the New

<sup>1</sup> Cf. V. Schultz, *Die Quedlinburger Itala-Miniaturen der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin* (Munich, 1898), pp. 32 ff. So also in the case of the Rossano Gospels both the handwriting and the miniatures point to the first half of the sixth century. Cf. O. von Gebhardt, 'Die Evangelien des Matthaeus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis,' *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, I, 4 (1883), pp. xxiii and xxvii.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

Testament containing pictures, are believed on stylistic and iconographic grounds to have been written in Cappadocia. The Rossano miniatures are similar in style to some pictures of Cappadocian origin found in a gospel lectionary now in Leningrad<sup>1</sup> and to certain frescoes preserved in the rock-hewn churches of the Anatolian hinterland.<sup>2</sup>

### 2. *Miniature Painting in Egypt, Greece, and Rome.*

Miniature painting is of every ancient origin. The earliest examples of the art have been found in Egypt, and they date from the sixteenth century before Christ. They are contained in the oldest known copy of the Book of the Dead on papyrus, which was written in hieroglyphics early in the Eighteenth Dynasty (1580-1350 B.C.) and is known as the Papyrus of Nu.<sup>3</sup> The pictures are vignettes depicting scenes in the underworld. They are drawn in black outline, and they have neither backgrounds nor ornamental borders. In the Nineteenth Dynasty (1350-1200 B.C.) the designs were painted in bright colors, and they were esteemed of more importance than the texts.<sup>4</sup>

The hieratic script was first used for the transcription of sacred texts

<sup>1</sup> Public Library, Cod. gr. 21 (Gregory I 243). This lectionary has been assigned to various dates by different scholars. Gregory ascribes it to the seventh or eighth century. Cf. C. R. Gregory, *Prolegomena to Tischendorf's Novum Testamentum Graece* (eighth edition, Leipzig, 1884-1894), p. 721. On the other hand Millet regards both the handwriting and the miniatures as imitative, and puts the work in the eleventh century. Cf. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l' iconographie de l' Évangile aux xiv<sup>e</sup>, xv<sup>e</sup>, et xvi<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Fontemoing et Cie., E. de Boccard, succ., 1916), pp. 557 f. This hypothesis, however, is unnecessary and improbable. The iconography of the pictures and the palaeography of the script both point to the eighth century as the date of the lectionary, and there is no valid reason for rejecting this conclusion. Cf. C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, xi (1929), pp. 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 557; and A. M. Friend, 'The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts,' *Art Studies*, 1927, p. 138. On the Cappadocian churches see G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Geuthner, 1925-1928).

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, No. 10477. Cf. Sir E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (London, 1901), i, p. xxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sir E. A. W. Budge, *op. cit.*, i, p. xlii.

## Introduction

in the Twenty-first Dynasty (1090-945 B.C.), and thereafter miniatures are not uncommon in hieratic papyri.<sup>1</sup> Most of them are black, but some are colored. Copies of the Book of the Dead ornamented with vignettes were highly esteemed in Egypt for many centuries, and numerous specimens of such texts have survived to the present time. From these it is possible to get a good idea of miniature painting in ancient Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The pictures are simply colored silhouettes without chiaroscuro or perspective. Their beauty is in their lines and colors; and the artists who executed them had a fine sense of symmetry, balance, and proportion.<sup>3</sup>

Wall-painting was also in vogue among the Egyptians in the time of the pyramid kings. Most of the early works have been destroyed, but some excellent ones of later date have been preserved. Various colors, such as red, yellow, brown, blue, and green, as well as black and white, were used. Painting flourished during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and in the reign of Akhenaten some remarkably beautiful and lifelike wall-paintings were produced.<sup>4</sup> Just as Byzantine artists often modeled the frescoes which they painted on the walls of churches and other buildings after the miniatures found in manuscripts, so in all probability the vignettes with which the Book of the Dead was illustrated inspired the wall-painters of ancient Egypt. But here, too, as in later times, an artistic tradition soon became established.

Alexandria, which was founded by Alexander the Great to be an outpost of Greek civilization in Egypt, contained a large mixed population of Greeks, Jews, and native Egyptians. It was an intellectual and cultural

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* (Leipzig, 1909), II, p. 6; and III, pp. 5 f.

<sup>2</sup> For colored reproductions of pictures found in the Papyri of Hunefer and Anhai see Sir E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead, Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Keräsher, and Netchemet* (London, 1899).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> For example, see the picture of the two little princesses (Swindler, *op. cit.*, Fig. 67, *ad fin.*). Cf. also J. H. Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York: Scribner, 1919), pp. 278f.



## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

centre of great importance during the Hellenistic period, and it exerted much influence in the field of art. Miniature painting flourished, and many books of various sorts were illustrated by Alexandrian artists. Red and yellow were the prevailing colors,<sup>1</sup> and there were no backgrounds or ornamental borders.<sup>2</sup> A definite style became established, and some early miniatures, such as those of the Vatican Vergil and the Ambrosian Iliad, give a good idea of its character. The standing portraits of the evangelists, which are preserved in many manuscripts of the gospels, as a type originated in Alexandria.<sup>3</sup>

Illustrated books were in use among the Greeks and Romans as early as the first century before Christ. The herbalist Crateuas, who was the court physician of Mithridates VI Eupator and wrote in Greek, published a botanical or pharmacological work containing drawings (*effigies*) of herbs. It was intended for popular use, and under each drawing the medicinal effects of that particular herb were given. A little later Cassius Dionysius, who translated a Carthaginian treatise on agriculture into Greek, and also one Metrodorus brought out what seem to have been new editions of Crateuas's album.<sup>4</sup> The pictures found in some manuscripts of Dioscorides, whose *Materia Medica* was not illustrated, are without doubt derived from those of Crateuas.<sup>5</sup>

The first Latin work embellished with pictures was the *Imagines*, or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), p. 441.

<sup>2</sup> For a facsimile of paintings and drawings on papyrus see H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei* (Vienna: Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1926), Tafelband, Tafel 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. M. Friend, 'The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts,' *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* xxv. 8. On Crateuas and his work see M. Wellmann, 'Krateuas,' *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, II, 1 (1897). Metrodorus was a Greek physician, and, as Wellmann thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 20, n. 27), was probably a pupil of Asclepiades, who practised medicine in Rome about the year 100 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. M. Wellmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 and 32. He reproduces drawings of plants from several manuscripts of Dioscorides at the end of his article. See also H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei* (Vienna: Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1926), Tafelband, Tafel VII.

## Introduction

*Hebdomades*, of M. Terentius Varro. According to Pliny the Elder it contained portraits (*imagines*) of seven hundred illustrious men, and it seems to have been widely read.<sup>1</sup> The philosopher Seneca also mentions books illustrated with pictures (*imagines*);<sup>2</sup> and sometimes a portrait of the author was found at the beginning of a volume.<sup>3</sup>

All these ancient book-portraits have perished. However, a general idea of their character can be gained from the miniatures which are preserved in certain Greek and Latin manuscripts of early date. The Vatican Vergil<sup>4</sup> and the Ambrosian Iliad<sup>5</sup> may be mentioned as examples of codices containing pictures of the Alexandrian type. In style they resemble the wall-paintings which have been found at Pompeii and in the catacombs. The artistic tradition continued unbroken from the Hellenistic and Roman periods down to the beginning of the Middle Ages.

The earliest miniatures, as we have seen, were painted on papyrus,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 11. For a discussion of Varro's work see F. Creuzer, 'Die Bilder-Personalien des Varro,' *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1843, Nos. 133-137.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Seneca, *De Tran. An.* ix. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Martial, *Epig.* xiv. 186. In this case the picture was that of Vergil.

<sup>4</sup> The Vatican Vergil (Cod. Vat. lat. 3225) is assigned to the fourth century. Cf. Sir E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), pp. 277 ff. It is written in rustic capitals and is commonly known as *Schedae Vaticanae*. For a reproduction of the text and miniatures of this manuscript see *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, Series Maior, 1: *Fragmenta et Picturae Vergiliana Codicis Vaticani 3225* (Rome, 1899). Some Old Testament fragments of the fourth century now in Berlin contain miniatures which are very similar to those found in the Vatican Vergil. See V. Schultze, *Die Quedlinburger Itala-Miniaturen der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin* (Munich, 1898). The artistic kinship of the pagan pictures in the Vatican manuscript and the representations of Old Testament figures in the Quedlinburg fragments is both striking and instructive.

<sup>5</sup> The Ambrosian Iliad (Cod. Ambros. F. 205. inf.) has been generally assigned to the fifth century, but it is believed by some scholars to be earlier. Cf. Sir F. G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford, 1899), p. 121. Sir E. M. Thompson (*An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912, p. 199) agrees with Ceriani and Ratti, the editors of the codex, in ascribing it to the third century. For facsimiles of the manuscript see A. M. Ceriani et A. Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis Pictae Fragmenta Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1905). See also Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, First Series (London, 1873-1883), 1, Plates 50 and 51.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

and some of them have been preserved in copies of the Book of the Dead. Papyrus, however, was fragile and not very well suited for painting. Miniature artists must therefore have welcomed the introduction of parchment for the making of books, for it had a smoother surface than papyrus and it was much more durable. Parchment had the field entirely to itself until paper, which had long been manufactured in the East, found its way into Europe. The new writing material was not at first received with great favor, but on account of its cheapness it gradually came into general use. Its smooth and even surface made it a suitable medium for painting. Both kinds of manuscripts, those made of parchment and those made of paper, were embellished with miniatures.

Illustrators of manuscripts did not confine themselves to any particular branch of literature. Many of the pictures are found in religious books, such as copies of the Old and the New Testament, because Christians believed that art was best employed in the service of religion. Jews and orthodox Mohammedans on the other hand had conscientious scruples against illustrating their sacred books with pictures.<sup>1</sup> Secular works of various sorts were also adorned with miniatures, and some of those which are preserved in books of this class are of excellent workmanship.

The portraits of the evangelists have been carefully studied, and it has been found that they can be divided into three groups according to posture.<sup>2</sup> The standing figures originated in Alexandria, but they were not

<sup>1</sup> On this subject see Sir T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Austrian scholar Josef Strzygowski seems to have been the first to make a distinction between the standing types of Egypt and the seated ones of Asia Minor. Cf. his *Kleinarmenische Miniaturalerei* [or *Miniaturenmalerei*] (Pt. 2 of *Atlas zum Katalog der armenischen Handschriften*, K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen, Veröffentlichungen 1, Tübingen, 1907), pp. 21 f.; and A. M. Friend, 'The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts,' Pt. II, *Art Studies*, 1929, p. 25. But Professor Friend, to whom the present writer owes much, has developed the theory and made substantial contributions to it.

## Introduction

original creations. They were modeled after the statues which represented poets and philosophers standing, and they fitted well into the narrow columns derived from the papyrus roll.<sup>1</sup> The seated figures are of two sorts—those which are depicted in the act of writing or meditating and those which are portrayed as reading aloud or teaching with gestures. The two types are quite distinct, and they had their beginning in different places. The writing and meditating figures seem to have arisen in Ephesus, whereas those which are reading and teaching are apparently of Antiochian origin.<sup>2</sup> Here also sculpture was the teacher of painting. The pictures of the seated evangelists were copied from the statues which represented poets, philosophers, or sophists sitting. They required a broader space than the standing figures, and they came into vogue when the codex supplanted the roll as the format for books.

It is interesting to note that the postures found in statues and miniatures are not infrequently seen in the mosaics and frescoes which are preserved in churches.<sup>3</sup> This identity of posture cannot be due to accident. It is of course conceivable that the mosaic and fresco artists on the one hand and the miniaturists on the other modeled their figures after statues quite independently of each other, but it is altogether more likely that the former took as their models the illustrations which they found in manuscripts. Thus miniatures served as intermediaries between the statues of the market-place and the mosaics and frescoes with which churches and other buildings were embellished.

Many miniatures have more or less elaborate architectural backgrounds.<sup>4</sup> It has been conclusively shown that most of these settings were

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. M. Friend, *op. cit.*, *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. M. Friend, *op. cit.*, *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 134 ff.; and Pt. II, *Art Studies*, 1929, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For mosaics see G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, Fig. 102; and H. Glück, *Die christliche Kunst des Ostens* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1923), Plates 43 and 79. For frescoes see C. Diehl, *Manuel*, Fig. 402.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Plates xv, xxiii, xxv, xlv, lxiii, and lxv.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

taken from the stage front (*scaenae frons*) of the ancient theatre, which consisted of a wall with doors, columns, niches, and statues.<sup>1</sup> The stage wall sometimes contained two or three storeys. But not all the architectural backgrounds found in miniatures were derived from the theatre. Occasionally the artist seems to have gotten his inspiration from the Hellenistic market-place with its colonnaded temple and other structures.<sup>2</sup> Similar architectural backgrounds are often seen in the mosaics and frescoes with which the walls of churches are decorated,<sup>3</sup> and it is altogether likely that the mosaicists and fresco artists copied the backgrounds for their scenes from pictures contained in manuscripts. In other words miniatures were in all probability the intermediaries between the stage front of the ancient theatre and the frescoes and mosaics with which the walls of churches and other buildings were adorned.

### 3. *Miniature Painting among Oriental Peoples.*

Miniature painting flourished in many countries, and in each a distinctive style was developed. In the East the art was cultivated chiefly by the Byzantine Greeks, the Armenians,<sup>4</sup> and the Persians,<sup>5</sup> and innumerable specimens of their work survive in Greek, Armenian,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. M. Friend, *op. cit.*, *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 143 ff.; and Pt. II, *Art Studies*, 1929, pp. 9 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. M. Friend, *op. cit.*, *Art Studies*, 1927, p. 144, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> For mosaics see G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, Fig. 100; C. Diehl, *Manuel*, Figs. 254, 392-394, and 399; and H. Glück, *op. cit.*, Plates 72, 79, 80, 102, 104, and 105. For frescoes see C. Diehl *Manuel*, Figs. 404, 409, 412, 419, and 423; and H. Glück, *op. cit.*, Plates 110, 112, and 121.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes* (Paris: Geuthner, 1913); and *L'enluminure arménienne profane* (Paris: Geuthner, 1928).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey* (London: Quaritch, 1912); G. Marteau et H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes* (Paris: Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, 1913); E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1923); H. Glück und E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1925), pp. 505 ff.; E. Blochet, *Peintures de manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits, no date); *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux* (Paris: Éditions de la Gazette des beaux-arts, 1926); Sir T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*; and Armenag Bey Sakisian, *La miniature persane du xii<sup>e</sup> au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1929).



## Introduction

and Persian manuscripts. Many of them give evidence of genuine artistic ability.

The Syrians,<sup>1</sup> the Georgians,<sup>2</sup> the Copts,<sup>3</sup> and the Abyssinians also illustrated their books with pictures. Syrian miniatures are comparatively rare, but some of them are well executed. The earliest examples, so far as is known, are those found in a manuscript of the gospels which was written by a scribe named Rabbûlâ in 586 A.D. and is now in Florence.<sup>4</sup> M. Blochet thinks they were painted in the tenth or eleventh century and inserted in the Rabbûlâ codex;<sup>5</sup> but the style of the miniatures points to a period certainly not much later than the date of the manuscript. Not much can be said at present about Georgian, Coptic, and Abyssinian miniature painting, because the material is not yet available in sufficient volume to enable one to form a just judgment. Miniatures are also found in Turkish<sup>6</sup> and Indian<sup>7</sup> manuscripts, and many of them have much merit as works of art.

<sup>1</sup> See Plates LXIV-LXXI; and H. Omont, 'Peintures de l' Ancien Testament dans un manuscrit syriaque,' *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris: Leroux, 1909), xvii, pp. 85 ff.; and 'Peintures d' un Évangéliste syriaque,' *ibid.* (Paris: Leroux, 1911), xix, pp. 201 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Mourier, *L' art au Caucase* (third edition, Brussels: Bulens, 1912), pp. 219 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See H. Hyvernât, *Album de paléographie copte* (Paris and Rome, 1888); and E. Blochet, *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux* (Paris: Éditions de la Gazette des beaux-arts, 1926), Plate 1.

<sup>4</sup> Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56. This is a handsome Estrangelâ manuscript, written in the Convent of Mar John at Zagbâ in northern Mesopotamia and containing the four gospels according to the Peshittâ version. For engravings of the miniatures see S. E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Catalogus* (Florence, 1742). See also C. Diehl, *L' art chrétien primitif et l' art byzantin* (Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1928), Plate xxvii.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Blochet, *Les peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Pour les membres de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 1914-1920), p. 52, n. 3; *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux* (Paris: Éditions de la Gazette des beaux-arts, 1926), p. 52; and J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926), p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> See F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey* (London: Quaritch, 1912); E. Blochet, *Peintures de manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits, no date); and *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux*.

<sup>7</sup> See F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*; E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient* (Berlin: Cas-

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

The Arabs did not illustrate manuscripts of the Koran with miniatures, though they permitted the sacred volume to be decorated with elaborate ornamental designs.<sup>1</sup> Living creatures were not represented. However, the scruples which the orthodox had in regard to the embellishment of religious works with pictures did not extend to the field of secular literature. Illustrations were almost indispensable in certain scientific books, and they were not considered improper in historical writings and in purely literary compositions. Many of these works were translated from originals written in Greek, Persian, and other languages. Arabic manuscripts embellished with miniatures are found in various libraries.<sup>2</sup>

The Jews had a strong aversion against representing the human form in any way, and hence Hebrew manuscripts are very rarely illustrated with miniatures. However, they are occasionally embellished with animals, birds, trees, and flowers, and even with fantastic animals and winged creatures with human faces and hands. But such figures and objects are merely decorative, and they belong to the field of illumination and not to that of miniature painting. A Hebrew codex of the Old Testament in Cambridge, which dates from the fourteenth century, is an interesting exception to the general rule.<sup>3</sup> It contains a frontispiece to the Book of

---

sirer, 1923); Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924); H. Glück und E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1925), Tafel xxxix and pp. 517 ff.; Sir T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928); and I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne à l'époque des grands moghols* (Paris: Leroux, 1929).

<sup>1</sup> See F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, Plates 233-237; H. Glück und E. Diez, *op. cit.*, pp. 499 f.; and E. Blochet, *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux*, Plates xvi and xvii.

<sup>2</sup> See Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, Oriental Series (London, 1875-1883), Plate lxxi; E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*; H. Glück und E. Diez, *op. cit.*, Tafel xxxviii and pp. 502 f.; and E. Blochet, *Peintures de manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs*; and *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux*.

<sup>3</sup> University Library, Cod. EE 5. 9. The manuscript is dated 1347 A.D. For a facsimile see Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, Oriental Series (London, 1875-1883), Plate xli.

## Introduction

Job which represents the patriarch sitting on a dunghill.<sup>1</sup> Satan torments him, and his wife stands before him offering evil counsel.<sup>2</sup> Manuscripts of the Pesah Haggadah are sometimes adorned with miniatures, and some of these pictures painted by Jewish artists compare favorably with the work of Christian miniaturists.<sup>3</sup>

### *4. Miniature Painting in the West.*

In the West, wherever the Latin language and culture established themselves, miniature artists found employment; and samples of their work in almost infinite number and variety remain to testify to their artistic skill. The art flourished in Italy, France, and Spain, in Germany and the Low Countries, as well as in England and Ireland; and in each country a characteristic style was evolved. Miniature painting thrived in the West from the ninth to the fifteenth century, and even in the sixteenth miniaturists practised their profession. But printing had already made its advent, books were produced in great numbers by the new process, and the old arts of calligraphy and miniature painting, after a long and honorable career, rapidly died out.

### *5. The Byzantine Period in Greek History.*

The miniatures which are reproduced in the present volume were all painted in the East by Christian artists, and they all belong to the Byzantine period. Therefore, in order to understand and appreciate them,

<sup>1</sup> Job, it should be remembered, was not included in the Law or the Prophets, and was not read in the services of the synagogue. It belonged to the less important collection of sacred books known as the Kethûbhîm, or Writings. The Jews had no doubt, however, concerning the inspiration of Job.

<sup>2</sup> I owe my description of the miniature to the account of the manuscript published by the Palaeographical Society.

<sup>3</sup> See D. H. Müller und J. von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (Vienna, 1898).

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

we must have at least a general idea of the civilization which produced them and gave them their character. Taken by themselves as isolated pictures they have little meaning; but when they are seen against their historical and artistic background, they are interesting and instructive.

If one desires an important event and a definite date to mark the beginning of the Byzantine period in art and literature, the founding of Constantinople by Constantine the Great in 330 A.D. will be found to be the most satisfactory. The closing of the philosophical schools in Athens by Justinian in 529 has sometimes been adopted for this purpose, but there is very little to commend it. The emperor's action was a formal recognition of the fact that pagan philosophy had run its course and was no longer a major interest of life. The suppression of the schools was not in itself significant enough to be chosen to mark the beginning of a new era in history. Moreover, the distinctive characteristics of the Byzantine age had appeared long before the accession of Justinian.

It is extremely difficult to fix upon a single event or a definite date to mark the beginning of a new epoch or civilization. For example, it is not easy to say exactly when the Middle Ages began in the West. One cannot fail to recognize that a profound change, a veritable revolution has come over the world, and that life has been affected in many of its most fundamental aspects. But when did the forces which brought about the revolution begin to operate? Political changes often come swiftly, and sometimes they are catastrophic; but they are comparatively superficial, and the old civilization not infrequently remains essentially the same under a new dynasty or under another political régime. On the other hand the changes which give rise to a new era in history are social and intellectual, and they usually take place slowly. Sometimes indeed they pass unnoticed until their effect is clearly recognized in a different order of life.

## Introduction

Constantine made Byzantium the eastern capital of the Empire and renamed it Constantinople. Its geographical position, its splendor, its wealth, and its commercial and political power enabled it to dominate every phase of life throughout the East. Alexandria, Ephesus, and Antioch were to be sure important and influential centres, but none of them could rival Constantinople. A new Rome, in certain external respects like the old Rome on the Tiber, but in essentials entirely different, had arisen on the Bosphorus to be the undisputed mistress of the Eastern world. The resemblance between the eastern and the western capital of the Empire was superficial. The great and fundamental difference lay in the fact that Rome was Western and pagan, whereas Constantinople was from the beginning Oriental and Christian. A new civilization was coming into being in the East.

The Byzantine period came to an end with the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 A.D. The foundations on which the old civilization rested were swept away by the flood. Another race with different antecedents and traditions, alien in language, governed by a different system of law, and professing a strange religion, usurped the power of the old and enfeebled Empire. This ancient institution had had a long and eventful life. It had enjoyed seasons of prosperity and renown, and it had passed through times of adversity and humiliation. When the inevitable catastrophe came, it brought to an end a most colorful era which had endured for more than a thousand years. No period in history offers greater contrasts and contradictions, and to one who studies it with sympathy and understanding perhaps none exceeds it in human interest.

The Byzantine period has often been regarded as a decadent or stagnant epoch in history. But this is a gross misunderstanding, for it was in fact neither decadent nor stagnant. It was no mere aftermath of Greek



## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

civilization. It was no mere ageing or weakening of the Hellenic spirit. On the contrary it was from the beginning something new and distinctive. Moreover, Byzantine culture was a living and growing organism. It developed along with the Byzantine Empire, partaking of the strength and weakness of the latter and sharing in its prosperity and adversity. National wellbeing was succeeded by decline, and this in turn was followed by revival, and all these phases of the life of the Empire were reflected in Byzantine art.

Furthermore, the Byzantine age was thoroughly individual, having its own impress and character; and it was different from any period that went before or came after it. It had its own law and government, as well as its own literature, art, and religion. In many respects the Byzantine period was quite unlike the Middle Ages in Western Europe.

Three different elements, each having its own history and background, were combined to form Byzantine civilization. Each one of them was powerful enough to make itself felt, and the three together gave to the new culture its distinctive character. Those three elements were Hellenism, Orientalism, and Christianity.

The age of Hellenism began with the conquests of Alexander the Great in the last third of the fourth century before Christ and extended to the founding of Constantinople in 330 A.D. In the early part of this period Greek culture came into contact with Oriental ideas and customs, and the kind of civilization that resulted is what is called Hellenism. It was essentially Greek, but it was tinged to some extent with Orientalism.

In art and literature the old spontaneity and creative activity of the classical age declined, and learning and scientific research of various sorts flourished. New philosophical schools were founded, and different problems were debated. Oriental mystery cults, Judaism, and Christianity spread throughout the East and the West and made many converts. The



## Introduction

old state religions with their sacrifices and festivals continued to exist, but much of their former influence was lost. Luxury and material magnificence greatly increased in the upper strata of society.

Later the Romans conquered one by one the *disiecta membra* of Alexander's extensive but short-lived empire, and in due time the western half of it was incorporated into the Roman Empire. Peoples who differed widely from each other in race, language, and culture were thus brought together under one sovereignty. The influence of Rome was felt chiefly in the sphere of law and administration. Even after the East came under the political control of the West Hellenistic civilization continued to be fundamentally Greek, and the superior culture of Greece made a deep and lasting impression on the ruder peoples of Western Europe.

The influence of the Orient was much stronger in the Byzantine period than it had been in Hellenistic times, and consequently the civilization which centered in Constantinople had a much more Oriental character than its predecessor. Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt had each a distinctive culture of its own, and these three regions made significant contributions to Byzantine life and thought. Orientalism is regarded by Strzygowski and some others as the paramount and dominant element in Byzantine culture,<sup>1</sup> but in this one-sided emphasis they ignore the importance of Hellenism and Christianity. No doubt at certain times and in certain places one of these factors was in the ascendant and exerted more influence than the others. But in order to form a just view of Byzantine civilization, it is necessary to take into account all three of these elements and to apportion to each one its proper place and function.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strzygowski's theory can be learned from two of his books: *Orient oder Rom* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 1 ff.; and *Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1903), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> For a just protest against the 'swing to the Orient' mentioned above see A. M. Friend, 'The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts,' *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 119 f. See also L. Bréhier, 'Orient ou Byzance?', *Revue Archéologique*, 4<sup>e</sup> série, x (1907), pp. 396 ff.; and

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

Christianity, itself of Oriental origin, was a young and vigorous religion, and in those days it dominated the lives of its adherents. It enjoyed the favor of Constantine and had his active support in many ways. He built churches in the Holy Land, and more than once he played a leading part in the settlement of theological controversies. Nevertheless, pagan worship was not suppressed, provided it was not immoral or otherwise objectionable; and the emperor himself was not baptized until his last sickness. From the very beginning Christianity occupied a particularly advantageous position in the Byzantine Empire, and it inevitably became a factor of great importance in Byzantine culture. For the first time it had a part in the making of a new civilization, which can be described in a single word as an Oriental and Christian culture based upon Hellenism.

### *6. Miniature Painting in the Byzantine Empire.*

Art, like literature, reflects and interprets life in its manifold aspects. For this reason it has great human interest, and its products—whether they be temples, churches, or palaces, or statues, pictures, tapestries, or even those small objects which are called in French *bibelots*—all are human documents, and as such they are all significant. Therefore, in order to understand the art of any period, it is necessary to have in mind at least a general view of the history of the epoch. The political, social, intellectual, and religious conditions of the time must be weighed and appraised.

---

G. Millet, 'Byzance et non l' Orient,' *ibid.*, 4<sup>e</sup> série, XI (1908), pp. 171 ff. On the importance of the Hellenic element in Byzantine art see O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 27 f.

# Introduction

The history of Byzantine art can be divided into the following periods:<sup>1</sup>

- I. The First Golden Age (from the founding of Constantinople in 330 to the accession of Leo III the Isaurian in 717).
- II. The Iconoclastic Period (from the accession of Leo III the Isaurian in 717 to the accession of Basil I the Macedonian in 867).
- III. The Second Golden Age (from the accession of Basil I the Macedonian in 867 to the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204).
  - a. The Macedonian Period (from the accession of Basil I the Macedonian in 867 to the accession of Alexius Comnenus in 1081).
  - b. The Comnenian Period (from the accession of Alexius Comnenus in 1081 to the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204).
- IV. The Final Period (from the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 to the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453).
  - a. The Latin Period (from the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 to the accession of Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261).
  - b. The Period of the Palaeologi (from the accession of Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261 to the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453).

<sup>1</sup> I have followed in the main Kondakov, Millet, and Diehl. J. Ebersolt (*La miniature byzantine*, Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926) recognizes the following periods: I. Centuries v-vii; II. Centuries viii-ix; III. Centuries x-xii; IV. Centuries xiii-xv. H. Gerstinger (*Die griechische Buchmalerei*, Vienna: Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1926) includes the work of the ancient Greeks as well as that of the Byzantines. He distinguishes five periods: I. The ancient—from the beginning to the end of the third century after Christ. II. The early Byzantine—from the fourth

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## I. THE FIRST GOLDEN AGE.

Constantine was a strong and able ruler, and his government was stable. He recognized the growing power of Christianity and determined to make it an ally of the Empire. But Constantine lived only seven years after the founding of Constantinople; and his successors, with the sole exception of Julian the Apostate, were weak and inefficient.

Under Theodosius the Great, who was made co-regent and ruler of the East by the Emperor Gratian in 379, the fortunes of the Empire revived. He was not only a successful general and skilful diplomat; but, having been converted to Christianity, he became a staunch champion of the orthodox faith. For a few months before his death in 395 the East and the West were reunited for the last time. Judged on the basis both of ability and accomplishments, Theodosius takes high rank among the rulers of the Empire.

In the latter part of the fourth century a new peril loomed up on the horizon. The Visigoths, a tribe of German barbarians, descended upon the Empire out of the regions lying to the north of the Danube. Pressed on by enemies in the rear, they migrated southward in quest of dwelling places, spreading fear and terror wherever they went. They defeated the imperial army and slew the Emperor Valens at Adrianople in the year 378. After they had won this decisive victory, Theodosius made peace with them and took them into the service of the Empire. But they were restless and warlike, and after a time they began to ravage the country. They were finally checked in the Peloponnesus, and soon afterwards they set out for Italy under the leadership of the ambitious and enterprising Alaric.

---

century after Christ to the outbreak of the Iconoclastic Controversy in 723 A.D. III. The Iconoclastic Controversy (723-847 A.D.). IV. The middle Byzantine (847-1203 A.D.): A. The ninth and tenth centuries; B. The eleventh and twelfth centuries. V. The late Byzantine (1204-1453 A.D.).

## Introduction

Theological controversies divided the Church and disturbed the peace of the Empire during the fourth and fifth centuries. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, maintained that the Son was not coeternal and consubstantial with the Father. His views were condemned at the Council of Nicaea in 325, but the struggle between the Arians and the orthodox was carried on with great bitterness for more than half a century. The controversy was finally settled in favor of the orthodox doctrine by the Council of Constantinople in 381 A.D.

In the fifth century Nestorianism and Monophysitism occupied the stage. The Nestorians held that there were two natures in Christ—one divine and the other human, and that these two natures were not united in one person; whereas according to Eutyches, who was one of the leading exponents of Monophysitism, there was only one nature in Christ, i.e. the divine. The orthodox position, which sought to guard against both of these extreme views, was promulgated by the Council of Chalcedon in the year 451, and thereafter both Nestorianism and Monophysitism were heretical doctrines.

In the seventh century the Monothelite controversy arose out of an attempt to bring the Monophysites of Syria and Egypt back into communion with the Church. It was said by the Monothelites that the two natures in Christ had only one will and one divine-human energy or operation. This doctrine, however, was declared to be heretical by a council held in Constantinople in 680–681 A.D.

These questions seem to us purely theological and wholly academic in character. But political and ecclesiastical aims and ambitions soon became involved in them. Emperors, patriarchs, and bishops took sides and joined in the struggle with partisan zeal. In that age Christianity had come to be regarded as a body of sacred doctrine rather than as a spiritual

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

religion and moral force. Orthodoxy was often thought to be more important than character.

Justinian had a long and brilliant reign (527–565 A.D.). He was able, ambitious, and very industrious, and some notable and enduring achievements stand to his credit. It has been said that he was ‘the eminent representative of two great ideas—the imperial idea and the Christian idea; and because he represented those ideas, his name will endure forever.’<sup>1</sup>

Three important foreign wars were waged during his reign—first with the Persians in the East and then with the Vandals in North Africa and with the Ostrogoths in Italy. After twenty-two years of fighting the war with the Persians ended with an unsatisfactory peace, but by his various campaigns in the West Justinian succeeded in reconquering North Africa and Italy. Moreover, the Slavs and Huns, who were scattered over the vast region extending from the Black Sea to the Baltic, were a constant menace to the peace and tranquillity of the Empire. These barbarians repeatedly crossed the Danube and ravaged the imperial domain, sometimes advancing as far south as Constantinople.

The emperor’s military operations and his extensive building projects consumed much wealth. His reign was glorious and memorable, but it was also expensive. The cost of carrying on war for many years in distant lands and of building churches, palaces, and fortresses in various parts of the Empire was enormous, and it bore heavily upon the people. To be sure certain fiscal reforms were undertaken, but in spite of them the government was poor and taxes were burdensome. Discontent was inevitable, and from time to time it led to insurrection and bloodshed.

Justinian, like his wife Theodora, was deeply interested in theology,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Diehl, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925), p. 19.



## Introduction

and he often intervened in theological controversies. Being orthodox himself save in one point towards the end of his life, the emperor championed the cause of orthodoxy. He was indeed a bitter foe of both heresy and paganism. He persecuted heretics vigorously, forced pagans to be baptized, and closed the philosophical schools in Athens.

One of Justinian's most notable accomplishments was in the field of law, in which great confusion had long prevailed. There was urgent need of a thorough-going redaction of the imperial law. The emperor, however, did not undertake to perform this gigantic task himself, but early in his reign he secured for the purpose the services of the most distinguished legal authorities of the time. They toiled diligently, and the results of their labors were embodied in the *Codex* and the *Digest*, which is also known as the *Pandects*. Besides these two monumental compilations an elementary manual called the *Institutes* was issued; and later the *Novels*, a collection of ordinances promulgated after the publication of the *Codex*, appeared. These four works constitute the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, which without doubt has been the most influential legal work ever compiled.

When Justinian died in the year 565, he left the Empire in an impoverished and exhausted condition. The government was weak, discontent was widespread, and disorder was common. In 568 the Lombards forsook their homes northeast of the Adriatic and conquered the greater part of Italy. The Empire was in a perilous state. A general decline had set in, and a strong hand was needed if utter disaster was to be avoided.

Forty-five years intervened between the death of Justinian and the advent of a ruler strong and able enough to save the distracted Empire. Peace, order, and tranquillity were the indispensable prerequisites of prosperity. Three legitimate emperors and one rude and incompetent usurper named Phocas occupied the throne during this period; but, despite some military victories won over the Persians and the Avars, the

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

Empire made no real progress towards recovery during these reigns. Under Phocas it was in a most deplorable plight.

In the year 610, however, Heraclius, the son of the exarch of Africa, overthrew the usurper and became emperor. Conditions were so desperate at one time that he was on the point of abandoning Constantinople in despair and fleeing to Carthage for safety, but he was dissuaded from this ignominious course by the patriarch. Then, in preparation for a campaign against the Persians, the emperor raised money enough to equip an army. He also concluded a treaty of peace with the warlike Avars, who, leaving their homes north of the Danube, had advanced southward and threatened the imperial capital. Heraclius was now ready to cope with the Persians, who had overrun Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and, passing through Asia Minor, had made their way almost to Constantinople. After several years of fighting the Byzantine troops won a decisive victory over the enemy at Nineveh in 627.

A more formidable peril, however, was soon to appear in the East. The Arabs, urged on by the zeal for conquest which only Islam could inspire, conquered Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, and put an end to the Persian Empire. Heraclius, who was not only growing old but was also suffering from an incurable disease, offered no resistance to the new masters of the East.

The emperor had long been interested in theological questions, and he now turned definitely from war to theology. He was an advocate of Monothelitism, by means of which he hoped to reconcile the Monophysites to the Church. But this was a forlorn hope; and, as we have already seen, Monothelitism was finally condemned as a heresy. However great the failures of Heraclius in certain ways may have been, he must nevertheless be regarded as the savior of the Empire in one of the darkest periods of its history.

## Introduction

From the first half of the fourth century to the end of the seventh Byzantine art developed in a normal and healthy manner. In spite of poverty, the burden of taxation, and the distractions of war and theological controversy, architecture, painting, and the minor arts flourished. Many of the artists who lived in these centuries had ability of a high order, and some of them were endowed with real genius. The period was a brilliant one in the history of Byzantine art, and it has justly been called the First Golden Age.

The chief architectural work produced in the Byzantine period was the great church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, which is now used by the Mohammedans as a mosque. It was planned on a magnificent scale and was erected by the Emperor Justinian at enormous expense. The choicest building materials of all kinds were collected in various parts of the Empire and transported to the capital for the construction of the church. In splendor and magnificence Hagia Sophia had no rivals, and it was the embodiment of the spirit of the time. It marked at once the beginning and the culmination of a new style; and whatever may be said concerning its defects and imperfections, this marvelous work is one of the most inspiring products of architectural genius in the whole world.

Many Byzantine mosaics, being of an enduring nature, have survived in Saioniki, Ravenna, and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Scenes from the life of Christ, arranged in chronological order, were a favorite theme for the artists of the sixth century. Some of these early mosaics, as for example those in the Church of San Vitale at Ravenna, have great artistic merit.

The art of painting was represented by frescoes and icons. Most of the frescoes, however, have perished, because they were easily destroyed by

<sup>1</sup> Some mosaics of the sixth century have recently been discovered at Jerash, the ancient Gerasa, in Transjordan. See *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 37 (Feb., 1930), pp. 13 ff.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

dampness and water as well as by fire, and most of the buildings which they adorned have disappeared in the course of time. Nor is it at all surprising that very few icons of early date have been preserved. Since they were much used in popular devotion and were easily carried from place to place, they were in far greater danger of being lost or destroyed than mosaics or miniatures. The few remaining examples, such as the busts of St Sergius and St Bacchus in Kiev, are executed in encaustic and resemble in style and technique the portraits painted on wooden mummy tablets of the Graeco-Roman period which have been found in the Fayûm.<sup>1</sup> The most striking characteristic of all these pictures is their realism.<sup>2</sup>

Miniatures were painted on the leaves of books, and hence they were not exposed to the hazards which endangered frescoes and icons. Several beautifully illustrated manuscripts, or fragments of manuscripts, dating from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, are preserved in various European libraries. Some of them have already been mentioned. It will suffice to recall here the following: the Ambrosian Iliad of the third, fourth, or fifth century;<sup>3</sup> the Vatican Vergil and the Quedlinburg Old Testament fragments in Berlin of the fourth century;<sup>4</sup> the Vienna Genesis<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mummy tablets can be seen in various European and American museums. For reproductions of some of these portraits see M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), Figs. 511–523, *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 123 ff.; and C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 228 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 13, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 13, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Theol. gr. 31. Rahlfs assigns these fragments to the fifth or sixth century. Cf. A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914), p. 319. For reproductions see W. A. von Hartel und F. Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna, 1895); J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926), Plates IV and V, 1; and H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei* (Vienna: Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1926), Tafelband, Tafeln II–IV.

## Introduction

and the Joshua roll in the Vatican Library of the fifth or sixth century;<sup>1</sup> and finally the Rossano Gospels of the sixth century.

Several schools of miniature painting flourished during the second, third, and fourth centuries. The chief centres were Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, and Ephesus in Asia Minor; and each had its own distinctive type. The standing figures of the evangelists originated in Alexandria, whereas the seated types arose in Antioch and Ephesus. The works produced in Antioch and in Ephesus were distinguished from each other by certain unmistakable characteristics.

Sculpture reached the acme of its development in Greece during the classical age, and it might naturally be expected that it would continue to flourish in Byzantine times. This, however, was not the case. In the earlier period sculpture was recognized as one of the major arts and was cultivated for its own sake, but later it was employed only for the purpose of decoration and ornament. This loss of prestige has often been attributed to the hostility of the Church. The latter, it is said, felt none too well disposed towards an art which had long been used to glorify the gods and heroes of paganism. The fact, however, is that from the fifth century after Christ onward the Orient was a potent factor in Christian art. Oriental influence could be found everywhere. In Syria and Mesopotamia sculpture

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Pal. gr. 431. The Joshua roll raises some difficult questions. In addition to the pictures it contains titles in uncial letters and excerpts from the biblical text in minuscule script. The latter was written in the tenth century, and Herbert and Lietzmann ascribe the miniatures to the same date. Cf. J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1911), pp. 42 ff.; and H. Lietzmann, 'Zur Datierung der Josuarolle,' *Mittelalterliche Handschriften, Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstage von Hermann Degering* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1926), p. 184. But a careful examination shows that the biblical text and the pictures are not contemporary. The former was added after the latter were painted. The miniatures and the titles are probably of the seventh century. Certainly they are not later than the early part of the eighth. Cf. *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, Series Maior, v: *Il rotulo di Giosuè* (Milan, 1905), pp. 7 ff.; C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 248 ff.; and C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, xi (March, 1929), pp. 46 ff. The archetype from which the pictures were copied probably came from Alexandria, and the artist himself may have been an Alexandrian.



## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

played a subordinate part, being used only for ornament and decoration.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it must be remembered that Orientals were especially fond of color, which they preferred to form.

Although Greek and Oriental churches were not adorned with statues of Christ and the saints, nevertheless the influence of the statuary's art can often be detected in the mosaics and frescoes with which they were embellished. The pose of the figures depicted in these works is the same as that which is seen in ancient statues of philosophers, poets, and orators.<sup>2</sup> These statues were taken by the miniaturists as models for the pictures with which they illustrated manuscripts,<sup>3</sup> and the miniatures in turn were copied by the mosaicists and fresco painters on the walls of churches and other buildings. Thus to some extent the spirit of Greek sculpture survived in Christian art.

In the seventh century the Empire was greatly reduced in size by the Arab conquests of Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt, and by the loss of North Africa in the West. Its prestige was lessened and its economic resources were curtailed by these reverses. It became more compact and homogeneous than it was before, and the orthodox faith was firmly established. The economic and political conditions of the time were unpropitious, and art and literature declined. In periods of adversity cultural interests are likely to be neglected.

After the death of Constantine IV Pogonatus in 685, who after Heraclius was the ablest member of the dynasty that bears the latter's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Bréhier, 'Les origines de la sculpture romane,' *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1912, 15 août, pp. 876 ff.; and E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle en France* (third edition, Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1928), pp. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> Of the many examples which could be cited a few will suffice. For mosaics see G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, Fig. 102; and H. Glück, *Die christliche Kunst des Ostens* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1923), Plates 43 and 79. For frescoes see C. Diehl, *Manuel*, Fig. 402.

<sup>3</sup> Exactly the opposite process took place in southern France in the twelfth century, when sculptors copied miniatures in stone. Cf. *supra*, p. 8.



# Introduction

name, both politically and morally the Empire sank to a very low level. The government was weak, anarchy and disorder prevailed, superstition was rife, and immorality was common. Leo III the Isaurian, who ascended the throne in the year 716, was a skilful general and a constructive statesman. He reëstablished and reorganized the demoralized Empire with so much success that he is justly regarded as one of the greatest of all the Byzantine emperors.

## II. THE ICONOCLASTIC PERIOD.

The rank and file of the populace had long been accustomed to worship images of Christ and the saints in the churches and elsewhere, and in this they had the ardent support of the monks.<sup>1</sup> Leo III as well as many other thoughtful people looked upon this practice as superstitious and idolatrous, and in 726 he issued an imperial edict against image-worship. Prostration before images was forbidden, and a little later it was ordered that movable images should be taken from the churches and frescoes covered over with whitewash. Even manuscripts containing miniatures were destroyed. Thereby was precipitated a controversy which harassed both the Empire and the Church for more than a century. Dissension, intense bitterness, violence, and bloodshed ensued.

The veneration of images was restored by the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 during the regency of the Empress Irene, and this act brought about a respite in the struggle for a quarter of a century. But the contest was renewed by Leo V the Armenian, and those who clung to the veneration of images were persecuted, imprisoned, and driven into exile. At last, however, the long-continued controversy came to an end in the year 842. The Empress Theodora, who was regent of the Empire, insured

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word *εἰκών*, *image*, was applied to a picture as well as to a statue.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

permanent peace by causing an ecclesiastical council held in Constantinople to permit images in the churches and to sanction the veneration of them. Since that time they have held their place in the Greek Church and in the devotions of its members.

In the early part of the ninth century the Empire was threatened within and without. Revolution and rebellion led to disorder and anarchy at home, whilst the conquests of the Arabs in Crete and Sicily and the victories of the Bulgarians under the leadership of the intrepid Khan Krum humiliated the Empire and robbed it of some of its territory.

One might naturally suppose that during this stormy period art was not only despised and neglected, but also attacked and suppressed. This, however, was not the case; for the iconoclasts were not hostile to art on principle. They believed, not without good reason, that the worship or veneration of images fostered superstition and led to idolatry, and therefore in the interest of religion they opposed the use of images in connection with devotion. The distinction between worship and veneration was much too subtle to be clearly understood or observed in practice by the ordinary mind.

The period of the Iconoclastic Controversy is without doubt the most obscure in the history of Byzantine art.<sup>1</sup> The buildings with their decorations have perished, and almost no specimens of the minor arts have survived. Nevertheless, art was by no means stationary or stagnant at this time. It developed in a different direction. Religious subjects were less commonly represented than in former times, though a few works of this sort were produced when the zeal of the iconoclasts was relaxed. Artists turned from religious motifs to mythological and pastoral subjects, which were executed in the Alexandrian style. Art thus became secular. Oriental decoration, such as was in vogue among the Persians and Arabs,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. P. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1886-1891), I, p. 195; and C. Diehl, *Manuel*, p. 371.

## Introduction

was held in high favor, and was indeed the most prominent characteristic of the art of the period.<sup>1</sup> The total effect was Alexandrian and Oriental.

Very few examples of the art of this epoch have survived. There are some mosaics of the eighth century in Saloniki,<sup>2</sup> and a few manuscripts of the ninth century containing miniatures are preserved in European libraries. Among the latter are a copy of the *Tables* of Ptolemy written in the year 814 and now in the Vatican Library,<sup>3</sup> a codex containing the discourses of Gregory Nazianzen in the Ambrosian Library in Milan,<sup>4</sup> and a Paris manuscript of the *Parallela Sacra* ascribed to John of Damascus.<sup>5</sup> The pictures with which the *Tables* of Ptolemy are embellished represent the sun, moon, months, hours, and signs of the zodiac in the manner of the ancient calendars; and they have much artistic merit. On the other hand the illustrations which accompany the discourses of Gregory in the Ambrosian codex are executed in a more or less careless fashion, and those in the *Parallela Sacra* are of mediocre workmanship. The two last mentioned works give incontrovertible evidence of a marked decline in the art of miniature painting. But the night is said to be darkest just before the dawn, and in this case the light of a new day was soon to appear. For during this period of conflict the way was prepared for the renaissance in art which was to come under the Macedonian emperors.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. P. Kondakov, *op. cit.*, I, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. Diehl et M. Le Tourneau, 'Les mosaïques de Saint-Démétrius de Salonique,' *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris: Leroux, 1911), xviii, pp. 225 ff. and Plate xx (the three medallions); and 'Les mosaïques de Sainte-Sophie de Salonique,' *ibid.* (Paris: Leroux, 1909), xvi, pp. 39 ff. See also C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 371 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Vat. gr. 1291. Cf. C. Diehl, *Manuel*, p. 376; and J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1911), p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Codd. 49 and 50. Cf. N. P. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1886-1891), I, pp. 162 f.; C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 377 f.; and J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926), p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 923. See H. Omont, *Fac-similés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs en onciale et en minuscule de la Bibliothèque Nationale du iv<sup>e</sup> au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1892), Plate x. Cf. C. Diehl, *Manuel*, p. 378; and J. Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 f.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

By the middle of the ninth century the Empire had become thoroughly Oriental in character. Despite some reverses in arms on land and sea the government was strong, and peace was reestablished in the Church. Moreover, Constantinople was again an important intellectual and cultural centre.

In 867 the profligate and sacrilegious Michael III, the son of Theodora, was assassinated by Basil the Macedonian, whom Michael had made co-regent the previous year. By this dastardly act another dynasty was brought to the throne, and a new era of great prosperity and splendor was inaugurated. Basil proved to be a strong and able ruler. He was indeed just the kind of man the Empire needed at that time.

### III. THE SECOND GOLDEN AGE.

During this period successful wars were waged against the Arabs in Crete, Asia Minor, and Syria, and against the menacing power of Bulgaria in the Balkan peninsula. Southern Italy was recovered, and the authority of Byzantium was reestablished there. By these military operations the boundaries of the Empire were extended in the East and in the West, and its prestige was greatly enhanced. More territory was now under the control of Byzantium than at any time since the reign of Justinian. Moreover, a series of vassal states in the East and in the West formed a frontier for the Empire against attack; and these dependencies were also centres of Byzantine influence and culture.

The administrative machinery of the government was highly centralized and bureaucratic, but it was very efficient. The army and navy consisted largely of foreigners and mercenaries, but they were well trained and disciplined, and in case of need the emperor could usually rely upon them. Moreover, the idea of a legitimate dynasty became firmly established; and although usurpers were able from time to time to seize the supreme power,

## Introduction

they could not pass it on to others after them. It was felt that the legitimate descendants of Basil I had a rightful claim to the throne.<sup>1</sup>

Industry of all sorts flourished; and Constantinople, situated at the crossroads of the world's trade between the East and the West, was the chief warehouse and commercial centre of the nations as well as the capital of the Empire. Under such favorable conditions a high degree of economic prosperity was inevitable. National prosperity in turn fostered the cultivation of artistic and intellectual interests, and the result was a veritable renaissance in art, literature, and scholarship. Scholars, historians, philosophers, poets, architects, and artists vied with one another in making the age of the Macedonian emperors the most brilliant period in the history of the Byzantine Empire.

This prosperous and brilliant era, which is known as the Macedonian Renaissance, continued for a century and a half. However, troubles of various sorts were in the making. Towards the end of the ninth century and during the tenth social inequality was producing bitter feeling and strife among the people. The rich and the poor were arrayed against each other, and a feudal aristocracy was rising and growing in power. The barons, especially in Asia Minor, were restive, and some of them revolted. These insurrections were sometimes formidable and difficult to suppress. Moreover, the Church was rich and influential, and a strong and ambitious patriarch could at times successfully oppose the emperor.

In 1025 Basil II died, and immediately afterwards the fortunes of the Empire began to decline. The Normans appeared in southern Italy early in the eleventh century, and they soon became a formidable power in the peninsula and a growing menace to the imperial possessions in the West. One by one the latter fell into the hands of these northern intruders. On

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Diehl, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925), pp. 74 f.



## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

the other hand the Seljûk Turks, who had only lately emerged from the deserts of Turkestan, made their appearance on the eastern frontier under able leaders; and after about fifteen years of fighting they were the masters of Armenia, Syria, and Asia Minor. Thus in the latter half of the eleventh century the Empire suffered serious losses both in territory and in prestige.

The patriarch of Constantinople became involved in an ecclesiastical dispute with Pope Leo IX. The Greek populace supported their leader, and, in spite of attempts on the part of the emperor to effect a settlement of the quarrel, relations between the pope and the patriarch were finally sundered in the year 1054. Since that time the Eastern and Western Churches have gone separate ways. The causes of division were much deeper than a mere disagreement concerning unimportant matters. The East and the West were fundamentally different in temperament, and the rupture was in the long run inevitable.

Furthermore, after the death of Basil II most of the occupants of the imperial throne were weak, and most of them had short reigns. Two of the rulers during this period were women, Zoë and Theodora, the daughters of Constantine VIII. Zoë, who was licentious and unprincipled, was empress for twenty-two years, sharing the supreme power with her three husbands. During these later years of the Macedonian dynasty internal conditions were deplorable. Dissension, anarchy, and revolution prevailed; and there was no strong hand to restore order. Abroad matters were no better than they were at home. As we have already seen, the Empire was threatened in the West and in the East—by the Normans in Europe and by the Seljûk Turks in Asia. The times cried out for a leader of first-rate ability to arise and save the distracted state.

Alexius Comnenus ascended the throne as the result of a *coup d' état* in 1081, and subsequent events proved that he was just the kind of man that



## Introduction

was needed at that particular time. He was a member of one of the great feudal families, a good general, an able administrator, and a shrewd diplomat. He suppressed anarchy and reëstablished order at home, and he dealt on the whole successfully with external enemies. At the beginning of his reign the Normans seized Corfu, defeated the imperial troops at Durazzo, and invaded the Empire. Alexius countered by making an alliance with Venice, which later proved to be disadvantageous in some ways; and after a time the Norman peril passed. When the Crusaders poured into the Orient in hordes, they naturally caused the emperor no little anxiety and embarrassment. He treated with the Franks diplomatically, and he succeeded to some extent in making use of them for his own purpose. Alexius also reconquered a large part of Asia Minor from the Seljûk Turks; and he repulsed two barbarous tribes, the Petchenegs and the Kumans, who had joined certain Thracian heretics in a revolt against the imperial power.

John Comnenus, the son of Alexius, was a virtuous, humane, and magnanimous monarch; and by the example which he set he exercised a wholesome influence on the morals of his time. On the other hand John was not strong either in administration or in governmental reform. He took a lively interest, however, in military affairs; and he was able to extend his father's conquests in Asia Minor and to limit still further the power of the Seljûk Turks.

Manuel Comnenus, the grandson of Alexius, was intelligent, cultivated, and ambitious. His one great aim in life was to restore the ancient glory of Byzantium, but his efforts to accomplish this purpose were so costly that the Empire was much weakened in material resources and the way paved for the rapid decline which followed his death. Manuel occupied himself chiefly with imperialistic designs in the West, where he attempted to carry out certain complicated and impracticable schemes. But despite

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

some measure of success in his struggle with the Normans in southern Italy he was unable to reëstablish the authority of the Byzantine Empire in Western Europe, and the latter became permanently alienated from the East. On the northwestern frontier the emperor subdued the Serbs and made them his vassals, and he recovered Dalmatia and part of Croatia from the Hungarians. On the other hand an expedition directed against Egypt ended in failure; and, while Manuel was intent upon his Western policy, the Turkish sultanate of Iconium grew into a powerful state. Towards the end of his life the emperor suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Seljûk Turks.

During the reigns of Alexius, John, and Manuel Comnenus, which lasted for a century, the Empire had another period of great prosperity and renown. The government was stable. Commerce and industry thrived, and in spite of heavy taxation people were prosperous and happy. The imperial court was brilliant, and intellectual and artistic interests were highly esteemed. Art, literature, and scholarship flourished. Magnificent churches and palaces were built in various places, and some of these architectural monuments still remain as silent witnesses to the artistic genius of the Byzantines in the age of the Comneni. The Church was rich and influential, and it enjoyed the favor of the emperors. The latter were zealous for purity of morals among the monks and the clergy, and in times of controversy they supported the orthodox faith against heresy and philosophical speculation.

However, after the death of Manuel Comnenus in 1180 the way was prepared for the approaching end. Weak rulers at the head of an impoverished government were unable to cope with conspiracy, insurrection, and revolution. People were poor, and disorder reigned at home, whilst abroad the Empire was menaced by rebellion and war. The Serbs and Bulgarians asserted their independence, the German emperor was hostile,

## Introduction

and the Republic of Venice was even meditating the conquest of the Byzantine Empire. The old dislike of the West for the East had ripened into hatred.

The Fourth Crusade brought the Latin forces to Constantinople for the purpose of restoring the deposed emperor Isaac Angelus to the throne. The weak and enfeebled city fell into the Crusaders' hands in less than a month, and Isaac and his son Alexius IV were invested with the imperial authority. After six months, however, they were overthrown by an uprising of the populace, and the capital was captured and pillaged by the Latins in 1204. The Latin Empire of Constantinople was established; and the youthful and popular Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainaut, was chosen emperor. A year later he was captured by the Bulgarians and died a wretched death at their hands.

During the Second Golden Age, under the Macedonian and Comnenian emperors, Byzantine art experienced a genuine renaissance.<sup>1</sup> No period was more brilliant or prolific. Art was realistic and creative, but at the same time it was imitative. Two schools flourished side by side—the imperial and the religious. The former served the court and the leading figures in secular life, whilst the latter embellished churches with mosaics and frescoes and produced illustrated manuscripts of religious and theological works. The two types of art had many traits in common, and

<sup>1</sup> Most scholars believe that there was a notable revival in Byzantine art at this time; but Professor Morey is sceptical in regard to such a renaissance, which he calls 'the creation of Kondakov.' Morey holds that 'the Byzantine "renaissance" is little more than the stylistic imitation of works in Alexandrian style such as the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and of the Joshua Roll, existing in the libraries of Constantinople, and copied or imitated for generation after generation by the scribes and illuminators of the capital.' He maintains that the 'renaissance' was 'not of a particular period, but only that vision of antiquity "through a glass darkly" which was vouchsafed the scribes and miniaturists working in the imperial and monastic libraries of the capital and reproducing as best they could the masterpieces of a freer and more Hellenistic style than their native tradition afforded.' Cf. C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, XI (1929), p. 102.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

they existed side by side for some time. In the twelfth century, however, the religious type prevailed over the imperial or secular.

For both religious and secular subjects antique styles were in vogue and ancient models were popular. The Byzantines were conscious of having had a great past, and it is not at all strange that they felt a certain nostalgia for the antique. The influence of antiquity can be clearly seen in the pose and gestures of the figures depicted in mosaics, frescoes, and miniatures, as well as in the draping of their garments. Thus certain Hellenistic characteristics, such as dignity and restraint, reappeared in the art of this epoch. But on the other hand originality and invention were by no means lacking.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, a new style of iconography, designed to illustrate and teach the dogmas of the Church, came into being between the ninth and eleventh centuries.<sup>2</sup> To overlook this element of creative originality is to underestimate the ability of the artists of the Second Golden Age.

However, in the course of time there came a change in taste. The Church was powerful, and the monastic ideal seemed to many people to point the way to a higher and purer kind of life than they found in the world about them. Antique styles were recognized as pagan, and on that account they seemed inappropriate for religious subjects. Thus in the eleventh century there appeared a monastic tendency in art, which manifested itself in a certain austerity or severity. But in spite of some formalism the works of this period have feeling and power, for they are instinct with the life of the time. Their finish and technique also testify to the care and skill of the artists who produced them. Much use was made of decoration and ornamental illumination, and color was employed with admirable effect.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 396 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 407 f.

## Introduction

There was much building, secular as well as religious, during the Second Golden Age. Old edifices were repaired, enlarged, and embellished, and new ones were erected. The churches were richly ornamented within and without, and the practice of building them in the form of a Greek cross came into general use throughout the Empire. St Mark's in Venice, which is Byzantine in plan and decoration, dates from the eleventh century.

Many mosaics and frescoes of the Second Golden Age have been preserved both in the East and in the West.<sup>1</sup> Scenes taken from the gospels, such as the Annunciation and the Crucifixion, as well as events belonging to the legendary life of Christ, like the so-called Harrowing of Hell, were favorite subjects.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that even in the eleventh century the Communion of the Apostles was more than once depicted as it is in the Rossano Gospels, i.e. the bread is received in the palm of the right hand, which rests in that of the left.<sup>3</sup>

Portraits of saints are common in both mosaics and frescoes. Most of them are very realistic, and some recall vividly the likenesses painted on mummy tablets of the Graeco-Roman age. The influence of ancient models on these pictures is unmistakable, but on the other hand certain new traits also appear. For example, the mosaics of this period are often surrounded with ornamental borders of Oriental design.

Many illustrated manuscripts are extant, both secular and religious, which were written in the Second Golden Age, and they are of the utmost value for the understanding of the art of the period. Among the most important are the following: the celebrated Gregory Nazianzen in Paris,

<sup>1</sup> See C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 508 f.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I. Tolstoi and I. Kondakov, *Russkiya Drevnosti* (St Petersburg, 1889-1891), iv, pp. 125 ff.; and P. Perdrizet et L. Chesnay, 'La métropole de Serrès,' *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, 1903), x, pp. 123 ff. and Plate xii.



## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

executed between 880 and 886 A.D., probably for the emperor Basil I;<sup>1</sup> the Paris Psalter,<sup>2</sup> the Vatican Old Testament,<sup>3</sup> and the Venice Oppian<sup>4</sup> of the tenth century; the Menology of Basil II, copied at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century;<sup>5</sup> the Paris Nicander<sup>6</sup> and the Jerusalem Gregory Nazianzen of the eleventh century.<sup>7</sup> Some of the pictures contained in the above mentioned manuscripts have architectural backgrounds and ornamental borders.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510. See H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plates xv-Lx; G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, Figs. 132 and 133; C. Diehl, *Manuel*, Figs. 297-299; and J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926), Plates xiv-xvi. Kondakov says (*Histoire de l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1886-1891, II, p. 58): 'Ce volume célèbre est certainement, avec le *Ménologe* du Vatican, l'oeuvre la plus admirable de la miniature. La richesse de son ornementation fait supposer qu'il a été commandé pour l'empereur; il est même certain que les deux manuscrits sont l'oeuvre de miniaturistes de la cour.' See also J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1911), pp. 40 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 139. See H. Omont, *op. cit.*, Plates I-XIV; G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, Figs. 123 and 124; C. Diehl, *Manuel*, Figs. 286-288; and J. Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, Plates XXI-XXIII. See also J. A. Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff. The text of the Paris Psalter was written in the tenth century, but the pictures are probably earlier. Cf. C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, XI (1929), pp. 45 f.

<sup>3</sup> Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. reg. gr. 1. See S. Beissel, *Vaticanische Miniaturen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1893), Plate XIII; and J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926), Plate XXVII. See also J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1911), pp. 47 f.

<sup>4</sup> Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. gr. 479. See G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, Fig. 116; C. Diehl, *Manuel*, Figs. 283 and 284; and H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei* (Vienna: Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1926), Textband, Abb. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 1613. See *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, Series Maior, VIII: *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Turin, 1907). See also S. Beissel, *op. cit.*, Plate XVI; G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, Fig. 131; C. Diehl, *Manuel*, Figs. 306-308; J. Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, Plate XXXIV, 1; H. Gerstinger, *op. cit.*, Textband, Abb. 16; and J. A. Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Suppl. gr. 247. See H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plates LXV-LXXII; G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, Fig. 114; C. Diehl, *Manuel*, Fig. 285; J. Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, Plate XXXVII; and H. Gerstinger, *op. cit.*, Textband, Abb. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Greek Patriarchal Library, Cod. 14 (Τάφου). See Plates I-XVIII.



# Introduction

## IV. THE FINAL PERIOD.

The Latin empire which the Crusaders established in Constantinople in 1204 had a short and stormy career. It was menaced by the Bulgarians on the north and by the Greek Empire of Nicaea in northwestern Asia Minor. It was the latter which kept alive the old Byzantine tradition, and under the able leadership of John III Vatatzes it became the chief power in Asia Minor. He harassed the Latins on land and sea, recovered a large part of Macedonia from the Bulgarians, and reduced the despots of Thessalonica and Epirus to vassalage. Thus the Greek Empire of Nicaea greatly extended and increased its political influence, and it was also rich and prosperous. Its wealth and power were in striking contrast to the weakness and poverty of the decadent Latin Empire across the Bosphorus, especially in the latter's declining years. On the one hand the conquests of John Vatatzes in Europe and Asia Minor exalted the Greek government of Nicaea, and on the other they prepared the way for the downfall of the Latin sovereignty in Constantinople.

In 1261 the time was ripe. The Latin Empire was weak, the government was impoverished, and the Emperor Baldwin II had neither ability nor courage. Shortly before Michael Palaeologus had usurped the Greek throne, and he was now resolved to reconquer Constantinople. His troops attacked the city in midsummer and captured it without encountering serious opposition. The Latin power in Byzantium thus came to an end after an unhappy existence of less than sixty years; and the Byzantine Empire, under a new and vigorous dynasty, was reestablished in its ancient capital. Being thus temporarily rejuvenated, it was destined to live on in weakness and trouble for nearly two centuries more.

Michael Palaeologus was unscrupulous and hypocritical, but he had ability and ambition. Nevertheless, he was not able to restore the Empire to its ancient greatness and splendor. No one could accomplish the

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

impossible. In spite of some conquests the imperial domain was small in comparison with its former extent; the army and navy were weak, and, being composed largely of foreign mercenaries, they were at times untrustworthy; the government was impoverished by war, and the financial resources of the state were inadequate. The Latins still retained a foothold in the East, and the West was hostile; the Bulgarians and the Serbs, who dominated the Balkan peninsula, were jealous and unfriendly; and the Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor were constantly growing more powerful and menacing.

The prosperity and glory of the age of Justinian and of the Macedonian and Comnenian emperors had departed. Constantinople was no longer the undisputed mistress of the Orient. Her commerce had been appropriated by the rival maritime powers of Venice and Genoa, both of which had possessions in the East. Economic conditions were deplorable. Political intrigue, insurrection, and revolution weakened the government. Social equilibrium was disturbed by the animosity of the lower classes against the aristocracy, and the orthodox were aroused to violent opposition whenever the emperor undertook to enter into relations with the pope. A fatal disease had attacked the Empire, and nothing could arrest its progress.

Under the leadership of several able sultans the Ottoman Turks were building up their power, and by one victory after another were increasing their possessions. They had already passed from Asia Minor into Europe, where they fought many battles and gained much territory. Constantinople and a little strip of land along the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora alone remained in the hands of the Greeks.

Mohammed II was a resolute and enterprising monarch, and soon after he became sultan he laid siege to Constantinople by land and sea. His force greatly outnumbered that of the Greeks, and in less than two

## Introduction

months the capital of the Empire fell into his hands. Constantine XIII, the last Byzantine emperor, lost his life fighting bravely for the city which bore the name of Constantine the Great. Thus one of the world's great empires came to an end in the year 1453. It had endured for more than eleven centuries, and its history had been most varied. It had been in turn strong and weak, rich and poor, happy and wretched; and at last, like the Roman Empire of the West, it succumbed to inner decay and external force. The combined power of these two enemies is always irresistible.

Greek political power, however, was not completely destroyed by the catastrophe of 1453. It survived for a few years in the Despotats of Mistra and Patras in the Peloponnesus and in the Empire of Trebizond on the Black Sea. But the Ottoman Turks were ambitious and invincible, and within a decade they conquered these remnants of Greek sovereignty and incorporated them into their growing empire.

On account of the adverse conditions which prevailed in social and political life during the first half of the thirteenth century art and literature languished. The times were unfavorable for any creative work in either of these fields. But the Byzantine spirit was not dead, and a renaissance was soon to come. Under the régime of the Palaeologi, which began with the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and lasted until the capture of the city by the Ottoman Turks, art, literature, philosophy, learning, and science flourished with some of their former vigor. Artists, writers, and scholars of genius appeared, and their works gave distinction to the period. Mistra in the Peloponnesus, a mediaeval city and fortress not far from Sparta, was a notable centre of this artistic and literary revival.<sup>1</sup> The old Byzantine civilization took on at this time the glory of an autumn afternoon. But the end was near at hand.

<sup>1</sup> On the causes of this renaissance see C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 739 ff.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

The art of this period was realistic. Artists strove to portray nature and life as they saw them with their own eyes rather than in traditional or conventional forms. Consequently their works have a certain originality and freshness which the productions of mere copyists lack. They are instinct with life and movement. The fondness for portraiture and architectural backgrounds which is manifest at this time also sprang out of realism.

The painters often showed fine feeling and excellent taste, as well as great skill in execution. Their sense of color was exquisite, and they used it with good effect. Their works possessed a genuine elegance and elevation. But in general, on account of the poverty of the Empire and the distraction caused by war and civil strife, there was less splendor and richness than in earlier times. Composite scenes like the Last Judgment, subjects taken from the apocryphal gospels, and representations of the Divine Liturgy were in great favor; and symbolism was a characteristic feature of the art of this epoch.

The artistic renaissance which took place in the fourteenth century was indeed a remarkable phenomenon. It was due neither to Italian nor to Syrian influence, but was a truly Byzantine revival.<sup>1</sup> It grew out of the life of the Empire and was not the result of foreign influence of any kind. This final renaissance, which has been called not unjustly the Third Golden Age of Byzantine art, reveals in a most striking way the vitality of Greek civilization even in its decline.

Many existing churches testify to the great variety of architectural styles which prevailed in various parts of the Empire. Constantinople no longer set the fashion, but local types were developed in divers places. Hence arose the diversity which gives peculiar interest to the buildings of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Millet, 'Byzance et non l' Orient,' *Revue Archéologique*, 4<sup>e</sup> série, xi (1908), pp. 171 ff.; and C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 741 ff.

## Introduction

this period. However, in spite of the above mentioned differences all these styles had certain characteristics in common, and to this fact is due the essential similarity which one cannot fail to recognize in the churches of this epoch wherever they are found. To the age of the Palaeologi belong the Church of the Holy Apostles in Saloniki, three of the monastic establishments on Mount Athos,<sup>1</sup> and several churches at Mistra.<sup>2</sup>

There were probably no more exquisite mosaics produced in this period than those which are preserved in the Kahriyeh Jami in Constantinople, which is commonly known as the 'mosaic mosque'. In Byzantine times it was a monastic church and was called the Chora. The mosaics, most of which seem to have been constructed between 1310 and 1320 A.D., represent scenes taken from the lives of Christ and the Virgin. They are excellent examples of the picturesque and realistic style which was characteristic of the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

Of the frescoes painted during the régime of the Palaeologi it will suffice to mention here those which are found in the churches at Mistra.<sup>4</sup> They date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and they depict such subjects as the miracles of Christ, the Transfiguration, the Ascension, the Communion of the Apostles, the life of the Virgin, the Divine Liturgy, and the Last Judgment. These paintings are instinct with religious feeling, and they have much artistic merit. They show the same realism and picturesqueness that have already been noted in the mosaics preserved in the Kahriyeh Jami.

Many manuscripts, both secular and religious, were copied and illustrated in this age. In the miniatures found in secular books one frequently sees the influence of Hellenistic originals. But the artists of the

<sup>1</sup> Pantokrator and Esphigmenu of the fourteenth century and St Paul of the fifteenth.

<sup>2</sup> See C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 752 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 793 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910).



## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries were less skilful and often more careless than their predecessors, and the pictures which they produced are inferior in quality to those of earlier times. Decadence and mediocrity are manifest in their works. The miniatures of this epoch do not have the excellence of some of the mosaics and frescoes.

The following manuscripts contain good examples of the work of the miniaturists who flourished during the final period of Byzantine art: a Syriac gospel lectionary in Jerusalem, dated 1222 A.D.;<sup>1</sup> a copy of Job with commentary, written in the thirteenth century and now in Jerusalem;<sup>2</sup> another manuscript of Job with commentary, dated 1362 A.D. and now in Paris;<sup>3</sup> and the Serbian Psalter in Munich, which was copied near the end of the fourteenth century or early in the fifteenth.<sup>4</sup>

### 7. Concluding Remarks.

What has been said above concerning Greek miniature painting will give the reader a general idea of the subject. It is intended, however, to serve only as an introduction to the study of this branch of art. The books mentioned in the bibliography and the references contained in the footnotes will point the way for those who wish to pursue the subject further.

Art grows out of life, just as a plant or a tree grows out of the ground; and as the various constituents of the soil are taken up by the plant or tree and built into its structure, so whatever forms part of the life of a people

<sup>1</sup> Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Cod. 28. See Plates LXIV-LXXI.

<sup>2</sup> Greek Patriarchal Library, Cod. 5 (Τάφου). See Plates LVI-LXIII.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 135. See C. Diehl, *Manuel*, Figs. 435 and 436; J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926), Plate LXII; and H. Omont, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du ix<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1891), Plates LXXXVII and LXXXVIII.

<sup>4</sup> Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4. See J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band LII, 2 (1906); and C. Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 882 ff.



## Introduction

enters into its art. Representative art, like literature and philosophy, is an expression of national or racial life, and this fact gives to it much of its interest and significance. For example, a people or a race that is lacking in spirituality will not produce any great works in the field of religious art.

Art is always dependent to some extent on political and economic conditions, and we have seen how Byzantine art was affected at different times by the prosperity and adversity of the Empire. In like manner ecclesiastical and theological conditions had a direct bearing upon religious art, and the influence which they exerted in different periods has been pointed out. A general knowledge of the political and ecclesiastical history of the Eastern Empire is indispensable for an understanding of the development of art in the East during the Middle Ages.

Byzantine art was one aspect of Byzantine civilization; and however widely that civilization extended in the East or the West, Constantinople was always its centre. This art, like the civilization of which it was a part, was fundamentally Hellenistic. But it also contained two other important elements—Christianity and Orientalism. It is indeed the blending of these three diverse ingredients that constitutes the distinctive character of Byzantine art.

Without doubt the Byzantines showed greatest originality and genius in the field of architecture, and Hagia Sophia with its marvelous dome still stands as a silent witness to the imagination and skill of the architects and engineers who constructed it. It was the chief glory of Constantinople, and it had no rival in the East or the West. It is indeed, like the Parthenon and the Taj Mahal, a masterpiece among the buildings of the world.

Orientalists have always found especial delight in color, and Byzantine artists were no exception to the rule. They employed it with much skill and with good effect in their mosaics, frescoes, and miniatures. Indeed, no small part of the charm of these works is due to the use of color. Archi-

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

tectural backgrounds and ornamental borders are two other notable features of Byzantine mosaics and pictures. The former are often artificial and stilted, but they give depth and a note of realism to the work. The borders, which are sometimes highly decorative, serve as a frame for the picture.

The art which flourished throughout the Greek Empire has been criticized as lacking in originality and creative power. It is unnecessary, however, to attempt to refute this criticism here, for enough has already been said to show the injustice of the charge. It has also been remarked that Byzantine art interests more than it moves.<sup>1</sup> If Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and St Mark's in Venice be excepted, this judgment is probably true. However, it must not be forgotten, as M. Diehl himself points out, that the palaces and most of the churches with their mosaics and frescoes have been destroyed, and that many illustrated manuscripts have perished. One thing is certain. Inasmuch as Byzantine art is an important part of Byzantine civilization, it must always merit the serious consideration of students of history.

The influence of Byzantine art, however, was by no means confined, to the East, though it was naturally stronger in the Orient than in the Occident. It extended also into Western Europe and was an important factor in the development of mediaeval art in the West. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, when Otto I and his immediate successors occupied the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, Byzantium exerted much influence in the field of miniature painting. This was the period of the Macedonian Renaissance in the Eastern Empire, and Byzantine models were highly esteemed by Western miniaturists. In the twelfth century, when the Comnenian Renaissance was in full force, there was a revival of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Diehl, *Manuel*, p. 905: 'En dehors de quelques rares monuments d' une qualité tout à fait supérieure, cet art, pour parler franc, intéresse plus qu' il n' émeut.'

## Introduction

Byzantine art in the West, especially in Germany. After that time, however, the influence of Byzantium waned and at last disappeared.

Finally, it is a mistake to think of Byzantine art as belonging solely to the dead past, for it did not completely perish with the fall of the Greek Empire in the year 1453. On the contrary it has survived as a living force in the Balkan states and in Russia, and it still gives pleasure and satisfaction to millions of people in Eastern Europe. It is indeed part and parcel of Eastern and Southern Slavic culture. Moreover, as M. Bréhier remarks, it has transmitted to modern art the naturalism of the Greeks and the ornamental or decorative element, which is Oriental in origin.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Bréhier, 'Orient ou Byzance?', *Revue Archéologique*, 4<sup>e</sup> série, x (1907), p. 412.



DESCRIPTIONS OF MINIATURES  
AND PLATES

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE I.

### GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), fol. 2v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xi; Discourses of Gregory Nazianzen; parchment; 31.8 to 32 cm. x 23.8 to 25.3 cm.; 314 folia. The codex contains 64 pictures—a frontispiece, headpieces, and marginal miniatures.<sup>1</sup>

Gregory is depicted as an old man. He is sitting beside a writing desk in a pensive mood, stroking his beard with his left hand. His forehead is wrinkled, his hair and beard are white, and a nimbus surrounds his head. He has a pen in his right hand, and in his lap he holds a book. In the latter are written the words *ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα*, i.e. day of resurrection, which stand at the beginning of his discourse entitled *Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα καὶ εἰς τὴν βραδύτητα*.<sup>2</sup> He wears shoes, and his feet rest upon a stool.

A bookrest rises above the writing desk, and on it is an open roll. On the top of the writing desk is an inkstand, and below are a bottle of ink and a roll partly open.

The picture is enclosed in a simple border, and it has no scenic or architectural background. At the top, above the border, are the words 'St Gregory the Theologian' (ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος). This portrait of Gregory is the frontispiece to the codex.

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see Plate LXXII, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Oratio I (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxv, 396).





Gregory Nazianzen.



The Harrowing of Hell.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE II.

### THE HARROWING OF HELL.<sup>1</sup>

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 3.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Christ, rising from Hades, occupies the middle of the picture. A nimbus surrounds his head, and the prints of the nails can be seen in his hands and feet. With his right hand he is raising Adam from the lower world, and in the left he is holding aloft a patriarchal cross.

Adam, who is depicted as an old man with white hair and beard, is just coming up from the abyss. Behind the opening leading into Hades stands a group of several people. The figure nearest to Christ in the front row is Eve. She is looking at the Lord; and her hands are upraised, as if she were wondering at what is being done or returning thanks for her deliverance. David and Solomon, with crowns on their heads, are beside Eve in the front row. Behind her and the two kings are three men, one young, one middle-aged, and the other old.

At the right are several other persons standing in the opening to the lower world. These are doubtless the prophets. The three foremost are old men with grey beards, but it is impossible to identify individuals. The one on the right is raising his hands in wonder or gratitude.

Gregory Nazianzen is standing at the extreme right. He is portrayed as an old man with short hair and a beard of medium length, both of which are white. He wears the phelonion, or chasuble, the peritrachelion, or stole, and the omophorion, or pallium; and he has shoes on his feet. His right hand is raised in benediction, and in the left he holds a book. There is a nimbus around his head, and his bearing is grave.

A key, a nail, and some other objects can be seen within the yawning abyss of Hades.

<sup>1</sup> The legend of the Harrowing of Hell is based upon the idea that after his crucifixion Christ descended into the lower world and 'preached to the spirits in prison.' Cf. 1 Peter 3:19. At the end of the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve, which was written by a Christian probably in the fifth or sixth century, it is said that Christ 'went down into hell, and saved Adam and Eve, and all their righteous seed, according to His first and firm promise.' Cf. S. C. Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve* (London, 1882), p. 206.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

The background is neutral, and the border is simple. This miniature is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Eis τὸ ἅγιον πᾶσχα καὶ εἰς τὴν βραδύτητα*.<sup>1</sup>

### PLATE III.

#### CHRIST APPEARING TO GREGORY NAZIANZEN AND HABAKKUK,

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφον), Saec. XI, fol. 6.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Above at the right Christ is seen standing between two angels. There is a nimbus around his head, his right hand is raised in benediction, and his feet are shod with sandals. Rays of light emanate from him above and below. Each of the angels has a nimbus about his head, and both wear sandals.

Gregory Nazianzen is standing at the extreme left. His head is surrounded by a nimbus, and he is represented as he is in the other pictures. He is pointing to Christ with his right hand.

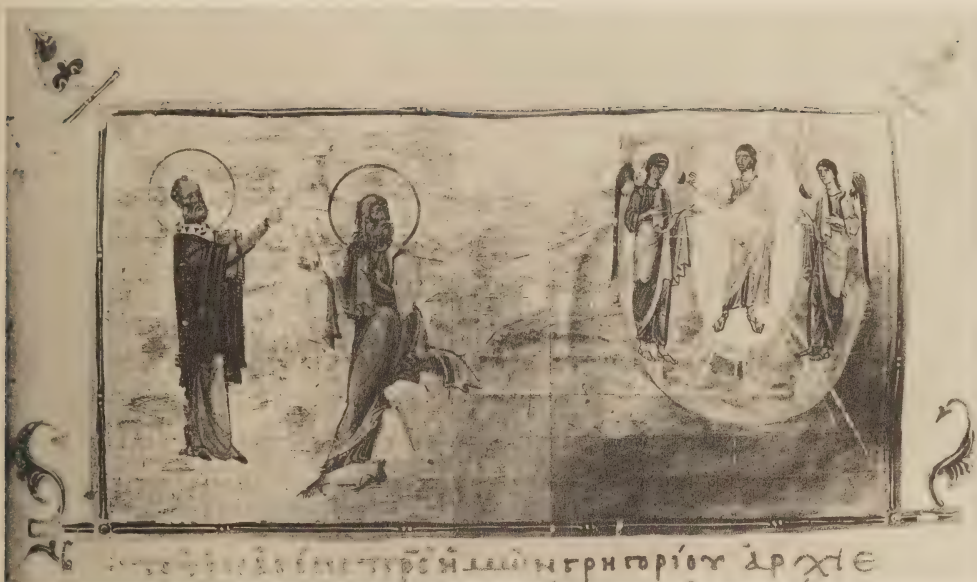
The prophet Habakkuk, who is near Gregory, is walking toward the left away from the vision of Christ. He is portrayed as an old man with long hair and beard, both of which are grey. A nimbus surrounds his head, which is turned to the right, and he is looking in the direction of Christ. His hands are raised in wonder, and his feet are shod with sandals. His flowing garment is worthy of notice.

The picture has no scenic or architectural background, and it is enclosed in a simple border. This miniature is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Eis τὸ ἅγιον πᾶσχα*,<sup>2</sup> which begins with the words of Habakkuk, 'I will stand upon my watch' (Hab. 2:1).

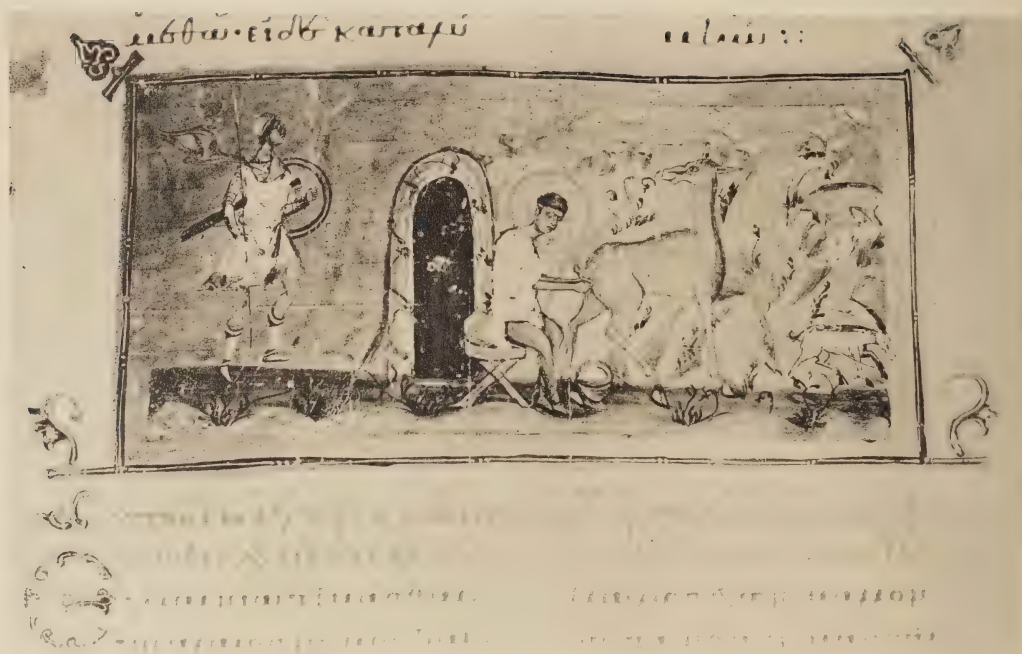
<sup>1</sup> Oratio I (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxv, 396). For another picture of the Harrowing of Hell see Plate Lxviii. The same subject is portrayed in the Leningrad lectionary (Public Library, Cod. gr. 21), in the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4), and in mosaics at Daphni and in St Mark's Church in Venice. See C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, xi (1929), Figs. 63, 64, and 66; and J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band LII, 2 (1906), Tafeln xi, xxiii, and lix. There is a fresco depicting the Harrowing of Hell in a church at El Nazar. See G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Geuthner, 1925-1928), Plate 41, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Oratio xlv (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi, 624).





Christ appearing to Gregory Nazianzen and Habakkuk.



Mamas the Martyr.



# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE IV.

### MAMAS THE MARTYR.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 27.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Mamas, who is sitting on a chair in the middle of the picture, is milking a hind. He is young man with short, dark hair and a smooth face. He is clad in a white tunic, and his head is surrounded by a nimbus. The milk pail is on the ground before him.<sup>1</sup>

On the left a soldier is running toward Mamas. He wears a tunic, a helmet, and boots or greaves. He carries a spear in his right hand, two reeds in the left, and a round shield on his left arm. A long sword is swung over his shoulder, and his mantle is blowing in the wind.

In the background is a rocky cliff, in which there is a cave; and the door behind Mamas leads into it. Plants are growing here and there, and two ibexes are grazing at the right.

The picture, which is framed in a simple border, is thoroughly classical in character, and was doubtless copied from an earlier one. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς τὴν καινὴν κυριακὴν*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mamas was a Cappadocian shepherd and martyr, concerning whom very little is known. He is believed to have suffered about 274 A.D. Gregory mentions him near the end of his discourse (§ xii). See also Basil, *Hom.* xxiii; and Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, v, 2. Mamas is commemorated on September 2 in the Greek Church. For another picture of him see *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, Series Maior, viii: *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Turin, 1907), Tavole, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Oratio xliiv (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi, 608). The title, as given in the manuscript, is *Εἰς τὸ ἔαρ καὶ εἰς τὸν μάρτυρα Μάμαντα*.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE V.

### PENTECOST.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. xi, fol. 35.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

This miniature depicts the scene in the upper room at Pentecost and the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the picture is an open door, and on either side of it there is a bench. The Twelve are seated side by side on these benches, six on either side of the door. Some are young, some are middle-aged, and others are old; but since no names are given, it is impossible to identify individuals. Some are holding books and others rolls, and several are making the sign of benediction. They all wear sandals. The head of each Apostle is surrounded by a nimbus, and a curved line extends from a centre above to each nimbus. This device represents the descent of the Holy Spirit. The room is full of light, and rays of light emanate from behind and can be seen below the figures.

Two men are standing just outside the door. One is a king with a crown on his head, and the other is apparently a soldier. Both are lifting up their hands and looking upward, as if in wonder or adoration.

The picture has no scenic or architectural background, and it is enclosed in a simple border.<sup>2</sup> This miniature is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς τὴν πεντηκοστήν*.<sup>3</sup>

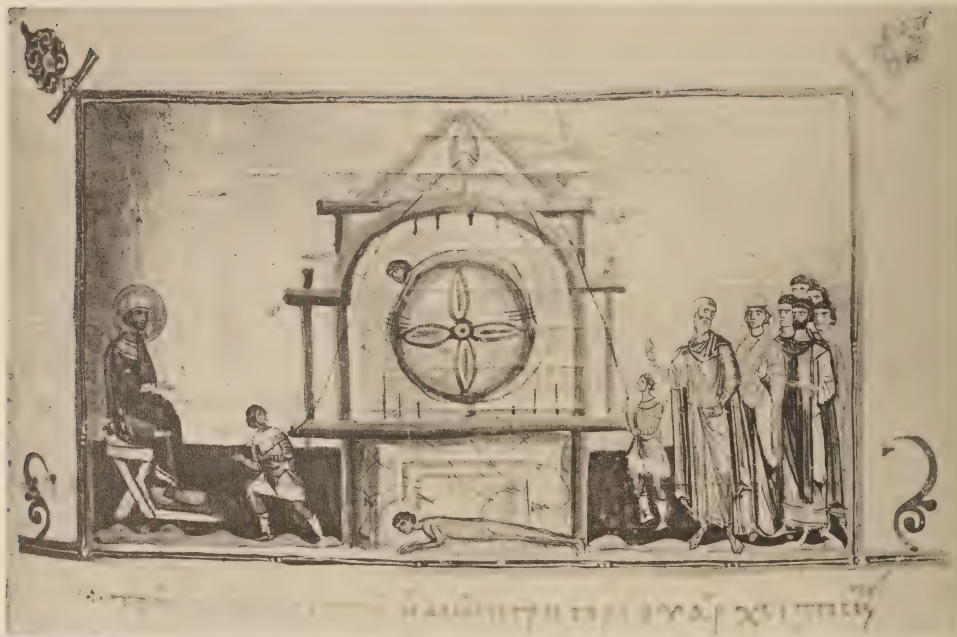
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts 2:1-4. According to the account contained in the Book of Acts not only the twelve Apostles, but all the believers, were assembled in the upper room at this time; and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit.

<sup>2</sup> For another representation of Pentecost see Plate lxx. This scene is also portrayed in the Rabbūlā Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. i, 56), the Leningrad lectionary (Public Library, Cod. gr. 21), the Paris Gregory Nazianzen (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510), the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4), and a fresco at Qeledjlar. See C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, xi (1929), Figs. 85 and 86; H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plate xlv; J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band lII, 2 (1906), Tafel ix; and G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Geuthner, 1925-1928), Plate 52.

<sup>3</sup> Oratio xli (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi, 428).



Pentecost.



The Martyrdom of the Maccabees.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE VI.

### THE MARTYRDOM OF THE MACCABEES.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 47.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

The instrument of torture, which consists of a wheel supported by framework and turned by means of ropes, occupies the middle of the picture. The victim was securely bound to the wheel, and then the latter was set in motion.

One of the Maccabees has already been executed, and his body is lying on the ground in front of the engine of torture. The second is on the wheel; and two executioners, one on either side, are pulling the ropes and making the wheel revolve. The victims are naked, and each has a nimbus around his head. The executioners, who are young men, are clad in tunics and wear boots.

The foremost figure on the right is Eleazar, who is depicted as an old man with white hair and beard. He wears a mantle over his outer garment, and his feet are shod with sandals. His right hand is raised in benediction; and in the left he holds some small object, perhaps a pen. There is a nimbus about his head.<sup>1</sup>

The mother of the Maccabees is standing next to Eleazar. Her head is covered with the upper part of her mantle, and her left hand is raised. She also has a nimbus around her head.

The other sons, five in number, are standing beside and behind their mother at the right. The foremost of them is portrayed as a middle-aged man with dark hair and beard. He is extending his left hand. His four brothers, who are behind him, are younger. These five sons are awaiting with fortitude their turn on the wheel.

A middle-aged man with dark hair and beard is seated at the left. He wears an outer garment with a fancy border and a mantle, and he has a white cap on his head. The latter is surrounded by a nimbus, and his feet rest on a cushion. He is the official in charge of the executions. His right hand is extended, as if he were giving orders.

<sup>1</sup> The picture, like the discourse which it illustrates, is wholly unhistorical. According to Gregory (*Orat.* § iii) the venerable priest Eleazar and his seven sons suffered martyrdom for their faith, and the artist has depicted the scene in a typical manner. In point of fact, however, the father of the Maccabees was a priest named Mattathias, and he had five sons, viz. John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. They perished in various ways and at different times during the Maccabean struggle for independence in the second century B.C.



## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

The picture has no scenic or architectural background, and it is framed in a simple border. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους*.<sup>1</sup>

### PLATE VII.

#### GREGORY NAZIANZEN AND CYPRIAN.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 57.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Gregory is standing in the middle, being depicted as he is elsewhere. He is delivering his eulogy of Cyprian, to whom he is pointing with his right hand. In the left he holds a book.

Cyprian is standing on the right. He is an old man with short hair and long beard, both of which are white. Like Gregory, he wears a phelonion, a peritrachelion, and an omophorion; and his head is surrounded by a nimbus. His right hand is raised in benediction, and in the left he holds a book.

At the left is a group of young and middle-aged men, who are listening to Gregory's words.

The miniature has no scenic or architectural background, and it is enclosed in a simple border. This picture is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἱερομάρτυρα Κυπριανόν*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oratio xv (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxv, 912). There is a miniature representing Eleazar and the Maccabees in the Paris Gregory Nazianzen (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510). See H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plate XLVIII. A fresco of Eleazar and the Maccabees, which dates from the time of Pope John vii (705-707 A.D.), is preserved in the Church of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome. See J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom iv bis xiii Jahrhundert* (second edition, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1917), iv, Tafel 163.

<sup>2</sup> Oratio xxiv (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxv, 1169). The title, as given in the manuscript, is *Εἰς τὸν μάρτυρα Κυπριανόν*.



Gregory Nazianzen and Cyprian.



Gregory Nazianzen and Julian the Assessor.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE VIII.

### GREGORY NAZIANZEN AND JULIAN THE ASSESSOR.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 69.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Gregory, who is seated at the left, is portrayed as he is in the other pictures. He is writing on a piece of parchment, which he holds in his left hand, and there is a cushion under his feet. Behind him is a group of monks, one of whom is writing on a piece of parchment.

Julian, who is sitting at the right opposite Gregory, is also writing on a piece of parchment, which he holds on his right knee. He is depicted as a middle-aged man with short hair and beard, both of which are dark. He wears a white cap and an outer garment with a fancy border. Like the others, he has shoes on his feet; and under the latter there is a cushion. A group of attendants, mostly young men, is standing behind him.

Before Discourse xix was delivered, Gregory had interceded with Julian on behalf of the poor, the clergy, and the monks in regard to taxation. They are here represented conferring together on this question.

The background of the picture is neutral, and the border is simple. This miniature is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Eis τοὺς λόγους καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξισωτὴν Ἰουλιανόν*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oratio XIX (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxv, 1044).

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE IX.

### THE NATIVITY.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 80.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

A mountain containing a cave occupies the middle of the picture. Before the mouth of the cave is a manger, in which the Holy Child is lying. The Virgin is sitting beside the manger, watching over the Infant and caring for him. She is wearing a mantle, the upper part of which covers her head. There is a nimbus around the head of both the Mother and the Child. An ox and an ass are standing behind the manger, and the ass is eating out of it.

Joseph is seated at the foot of the mountain. He is portrayed as an elderly man with grey hair and beard, he has a nimbus about his head, and his feet are shod with sandals. He is bending over, resting his head in his right hand, as if he were meditating.

There is also at the foot of the mountain a bath, in which a woman is bathing the new-born Child. Here, too, his head is surrounded by a nimbus. Another woman, who is standing on the right and bending forward, is pouring water into the bath from a vessel which she holds in her hands.

On the right are three shepherds, to whom an angel is announcing the birth of the Messiah. One of the shepherds is an old man with a long beard. He is clad in the skin of an animal, and is leaning on a staff. The two others are much younger. The angel has a nimbus around his head and sandals on his feet, and his outer garment is blowing in the wind. His right hand is raised in benediction, and in the left he holds a rod.

Above at the left three angels have appeared, each having a nimbus about his head. Below the angels on the left the three magi are making their way to the manger, in order to offer their gifts to the infant Christ. They are of different ages, they wear tunics, and they have boots on their feet.

On the left a rocky ridge leads to the mountain where the Child has been born; and on the right, behind the shepherds, there is another mountain. Plants are growing round about, but no buildings of any kind are in sight.

The miniature is framed in a simple border. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς τὰ θεοφάνια, ἣν τὸν γενέθλια τοῦ σωτῆρος*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oratio xxxviii (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi, 312). The title, as given in the manuscript, is *Εἰς τὰ ἄγια θεοφάνια ἣν τὸν γενέθλια*. Pictures of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi are



The Nativity.





John of Damascus.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE X.

### JOHN OF DAMASCUS.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 92.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

John of Damascus is seated beside a writing desk at the left. He is represented as an old man with a long, white beard. He is clad in the habit of a monk, and his head is surrounded by a nimbus. He wears shoes, and there is a cushion under his feet. He is writing on a piece of parchment, which he holds in his lap.

Four monks of varying age are standing in a group at the right. They are looking at John with admiration as he writes.

In the middle there is a writing desk. Above it rises a bookrest, and on the latter lies the text which John is copying. On the writing desk are an inkstand, two knives, and a pair of compasses.

There are two conventional buildings in the background, one on either side. Each is surmounted by a cross, and the door of the one on the right is curtained. In the upper part of the background, at the left, is the name St John of Damascus (ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνός).

The picture is enclosed in a simple border. It is the headpiece to a discourse entitled *Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν* and ascribed to John of Damascus. In a marginal note, however, doubt is expressed concerning the authorship of the discourse.<sup>1</sup>

---

found in the Menology of Basil II (Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 1613) and in the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4). See *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, Series Maior, VIII: *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Turin, 1907), Tavole, pp. 271 and 272; S. Beissel, *Vaticanische Miniaturen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1893), Plate xvi; and J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band LII, 2 (1906), Tafeln xxv, lIII, lIV, lV, and lVI. The birth of John the Baptist is depicted in a Vatican Manuscript (Cod. Vat. Urb. gr. 2) and in the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4). See S. Beissel, *op. cit.*, Plate xiv, A; and J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *op. cit.*, Tafel XLIX. There is a fresco representing the Nativity at Qeledjar. See G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Geuthner, 1925-1928), Plate 46, 2.

<sup>1</sup> A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus ('*Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*', St Petersburg, 1891-1899, I, p. 53) is wrong in saying that this discourse is found in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xcvi, 817. It is not printed by Migne among the works of John of Damascus, nor is it mentioned among his writings by K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (second edition, Munich, 1897), pp. 68 ff. Some works not written by him were attributed to him on account of his high standing as a theologian in the Greek Church.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XI.

### THE OBSEQUIES OF BASIL THE GREAT.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 113.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

The bier containing the body of Basil is in the middle of the picture. He is depicted as a middle-aged man with short hair and a rather long beard, both of which are dark. A nimbus surrounds his head, and he is clad in a phelonion, a peritrachelion, and an omophorion. A book, probably a copy of the Gospels, has been placed on his chest.

Gregory Nazianzen, who is represented as he is elsewhere, is behind the bier. There is a nimbus around his head, and he is leaning over and looking at Basil. A middle-aged man is standing at the foot of the bier, bending over it. He has short hair and a rather long beard, and both are dark. His head is surrounded by a nimbus, and he wears a phelonion, a peritrachelion, and an omophorion. This is doubtless Gregory of Nyssa, the younger brother of Basil the Great.<sup>1</sup>

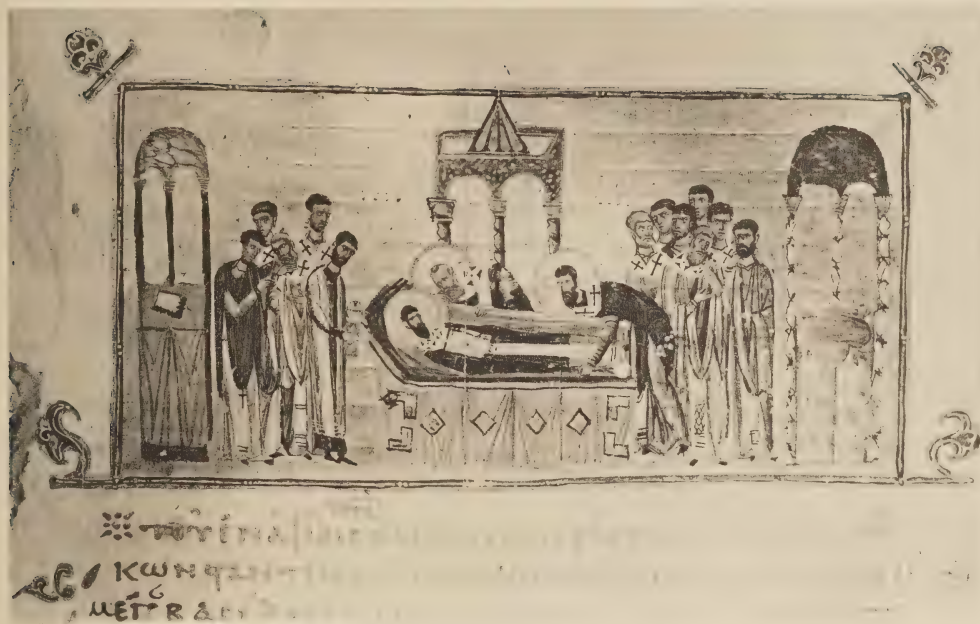
At the left, near the head of the bier, is a group of five ecclesiastics. Three of them must be bishops, since they are wearing the omophorion. The one who is standing nearest to Basil is holding a vestment of some sort. Near the foot of the bier, at the right, are seven clerics, of whom at least three are bishops.

There is a kind of baldachin with three columns behind the bier, and at each side there is a bookstand (ἀναλογεῖον). A book is lying on the one at the left.

The picture has no scenic or architectural background, and it is framed in a simple border. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον ἐπίσκοπον Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἐπιτάφιος*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For another picture of Gregory of Nyssa see Plate xiv. The Paris Gregory Nazianzen (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510) contains a miniature of Basil and the two Gregories. See H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plate xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Oratio xliii (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi, 493).



The Obsequies of Basil the Great.



The Baptism.



# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XII.

### THE BAPTISM.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 172.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Christ, who is standing upright in the River Jordan, occupies the middle of the picture. His hair is long and his beard is short, and both are dark. A nimbus surrounds his head, and he is naked.

John the Baptist is standing on the bank at the left. He is a middle-aged man with long hair and a beard of medium length, both of which are dark. His head is surrounded by a nimbus, and his feet are shod with sandals. He is leaning forward in the act of putting water on the head of Christ with his right hand.

At the right are two angels, each having a nimbus around his head. The one who is standing near the river is bending forward and looking at Christ and the Baptist. He holds a cloth in his hands, and he wears sandals.

The hand of God can be seen in the sky above the head of Christ. In the Jordan at the left there is a small recumbent figure holding a ewer. This is the god of the River Jordan—a pagan conceit that was not obnoxious to Christian artists.<sup>1</sup>

In the background are three high and precipitous mountains, one on the right and two on the left. Two trees and a few plants complete the scene.

The picture is enclosed in a simple border. This miniature is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς τὰ ἅγια φῶτα*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For similar figures see G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Geuthner, 1925-1928), Plates 78, 89, 103, and 119. In each of these frescoes the river god holds a trumpet. In the Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 139) the gods of the mountain of Bethlehem and of Mount Sinai are represented. See H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plates I and X.

<sup>2</sup> Oratio xxxix (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi, 336). There are miniatures depicting the baptism of Christ in the Leningrad lectionary (Public Library, Cod. gr. 21), in the Menology of Basil II (Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 1613), and in the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4). See C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, XI (1929), Fig. 101; *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, Series Maior, VIII: *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Turin, 1907), Tavole, p. 299; and J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band LII, 2 (1906), Tafel xxxvii. The baptism of the Lord is also portrayed in a fresco at Qeledjar. See G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, Plate 48.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XIII.

### GREGORY NAZIANZEN SEATED.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 185.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Gregory Nazianzen, who is depicted as he is in the other pictures, is seated in the middle. His right hand is raised in benediction, and on his left knee he holds a book. His head is surrounded by a nimbus, and his feet rest upon a cushion.

A group of men, thirteen in number, is standing at the right. They are of different ages, and all seem from their dress to be laymen. Their hands are raised, and they are looking at Gregory.

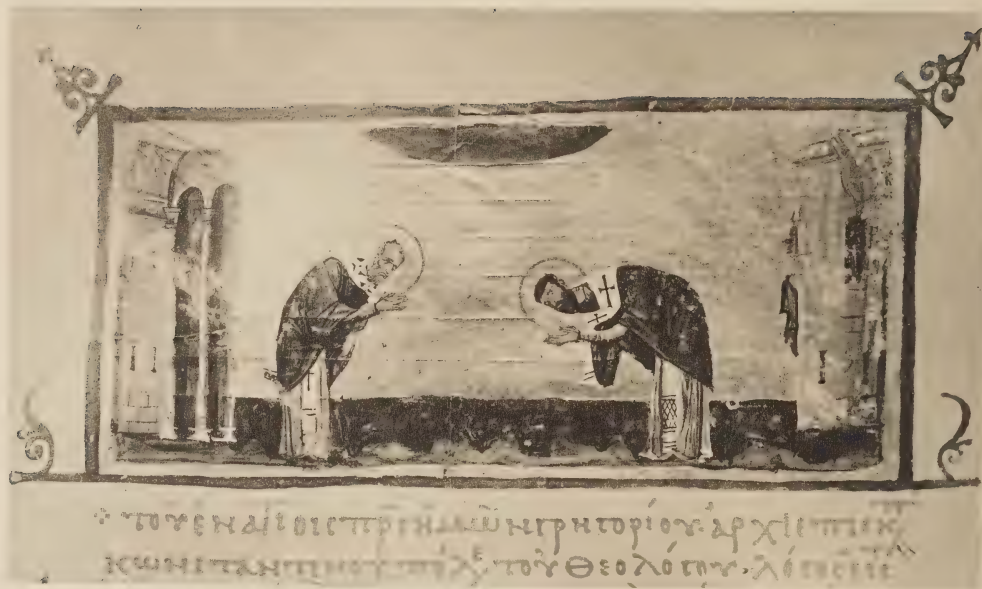
There is a corresponding group of monks on the left. They, too, are of varying age; and, like the laymen, they are lifting up their hands and looking at Gregory.

The picture has no scenic or architectural background, and it is framed in a simple border. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oratio XL (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi, 360).



Gregory Nazianzen seated.



Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XIV.

### GREGORY NAZIANZEN AND GREGORY OF NYSSA.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 218v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Gregory Nazianzen, who is portrayed as he is elsewhere, is standing at the left. His hands are raised, and he is bowing to Gregory of Nyssa.

The latter, who is at the right, is making a low bow to Gregory Nazianzen. He, too, is extending his hands. He wears a phelonion, a peritrachelion, and an omophorion. There is a nimbus around the head of each figure.<sup>1</sup>

Two buildings, one on either side, form the setting of the picture. A large piece of drapery hangs down from the roof of the one on the right, and over the door of the one on the left there is a cross. Plants are growing between the two buildings.

The picture is enclosed in a simple border. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς Γρηγόριον Νύσσης, τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἀδελφόν, ἐπιστάντα μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, St Petersburg, 1891-1899, I, p. 60) has mistaken Gregory of Nyssa for Basil the Great. For another picture of Gregory of Nyssa see Plate XI.

<sup>2</sup> Oratio XI (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxv, 832). The title, as given by the scribe, is *Εἰς τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον τὸν Νύσσης τὸν ἀδελφόν Βασιλείου*. A later hand has added the words *τοῦ μεγάλου* after *Βασιλείου*.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XV.

### GREGORY NAZIANZEN AND ATHANASIUS.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 223v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Gregory Nazianzen, who is represented as he is in the other pictures, is seated at the left. With his right hand he is pointing to Athanasius, and he holds a book in his lap. A nimbus surrounds his head, and his feet rest upon a cushion. He is addressing a group of monks, who stand behind him.

Athanasius is sitting at the right. He is portrayed as an old man with short hair and a beard of medium length, both of which are white. He wears a phelonion, a peritrachelion, and an omophorion. His head is surrounded by a nimbus. He has shoes on his feet, and under the latter there is a cushion. On his right knee he holds a piece of parchment, on which he is writing with his left hand.

In the middle, between Gregory and Athanasius, is a fountain containing water. There are also two buildings, one on either side; and a piece of drapery hangs down from the roof of the one on the right.

The picture is framed in a simple border. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Eis τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oratio XXI (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxv, 1081). The title, as given in the manuscript, is *Eis τὸν ἄγιον Ἀθανάσιον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας*.



Gregory Nazianzen and Athanasius.





Gregory Nazianzen addressing the Second Ecumenical Council in 381 A.D.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XVI.

### GREGORY NAZIANZEN ADDRESSING THE SECOND ECUMENICAL COUNCIL IN 381 A.D.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 246.

For a description of the M.S. see p. 58.

Gregory Nazianzen, who is depicted as he is in the other pictures, is seated in the middle. He is addressing the assembled bishops. His right hand is extended, his head is surrounded by a nimbus, and his feet rest upon a cushion.

The bishops are divided into two groups, one on either side of Gregory; and each group is sitting about a table. Seven are on the right, and nine are on the left. Most of them are old men with grey or white hair and beards, but some are middle-aged. They are all clad in the phelonion, the peritrachelion, and the omophorion; but none of them has a nimbus around his head. Their hands are extended as they listen to Gregory, and two of those on the left side are making the sign of benediction.

The miniature has no scenic or architectural background, and it is framed in a simple border. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Συντακτήριος εἰς τὴν τῶν ρν' ἐπισκόπων παρουσίαν*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oratio XLII (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi, 457). There is a picture of this council in the Paris Gregory Nazianzen (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510). See H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plate L.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XVII.

### GREGORY NAZIANZEN PREACHING ON LOVE OF THE POOR.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 264v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Gregory Nazianzen, who is represented as he is elsewhere, is standing in the middle. He is addressing some men on the left and pointing with his right hand to some others on the right. He is holding a book before his chest with his left hand, and his head is surrounded by a nimbus.

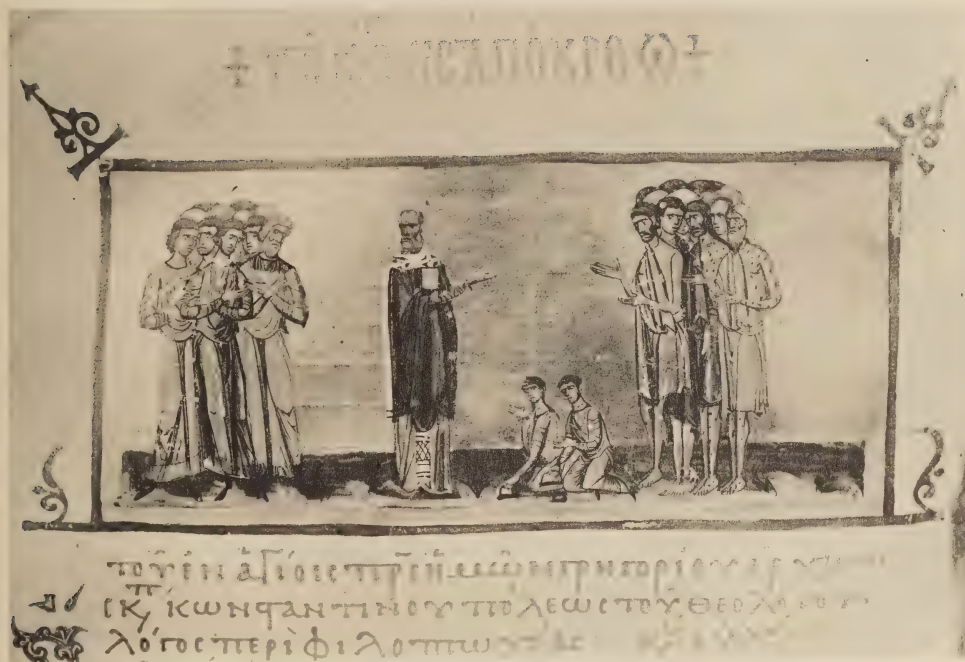
At the left there is a group of eleven men, who are listening to what Gregory is saying. They are well dressed and of varying age.

Another group of a different sort is standing at the right. These are the poor; and, like the others, they are of varying age. Their legs and feet are bare, and they are ill-clad and wretched in appearance. Two of them are covered with sores. They are extending their hands, as if in supplication, and are looking at the speaker. Two cripples with 'creepers' in their hands are on the ground between Gregory and the group of poor men.<sup>1</sup> A few plants, growing here and there, give to the picture a touch of outdoor life.

The miniature has no scenic or architectural background, and it is enclosed in a simple border. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Περὶ φιλοπτωχίας*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, St Petersburg, 1891-1899, I, p. 61) explains the 'creepers' as receptacles for alms (*δοχεῖα ἐλεημοσύνης*).

<sup>2</sup> Oratio xiv (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxv, 857).



Gregory Nazianzen preaching on Love of the Poor.



Gregory Nazianzen and his Father.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XVIII.

### GREGORY NAZIANZEN AND HIS FATHER.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 14 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 291.

For a description of the MS. see p. 58.

Gregory Nazianzen, who is standing in the middle, is depicted as he is elsewhere except that he appears here as a middle-aged man with dark hair and beard. He is addressing a group of men at the left and pointing with his right hand to his father. He is holding a book before his chest with his left hand.

Gregory senior is seated at the right. He is represented as an old man with short hair and a beard of medium length, both of which are grey or white. He wears a phelonion, a peritrachelion, and an omophorion; and, like the others, he has shoes on his feet. He is looking at his son Gregory and stroking his beard with his right hand. The left rests in his lap, and under his feet there is a cushion. His head, like that of his son, is surrounded by a nimbus. The elder Gregory was bishop of Nazianzus.

At the left is a group of residents of Nazianzus who have come to consult the two churchmen concerning a grievous hailstorm. When his father gave them no answer, the younger Gregory spoke.

In the background are two buildings, one on either side; and plants are growing round about.

The miniature has a simple border. It is the headpiece to Gregory's discourse entitled *Εἰς τὸν πατέρα σιωπῶντα διὰ τὴν πληγὴν τῆς χαλάζης*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oratio xvi (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxv, 933). The Paris Gregory Nazianzen (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510) contains a miniature illustrating this homily. See H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plate xxix.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XIX.

### ST MATTHEW.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 31 (Τάφου), fol. 5v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xi; Four Gospels; parchment; 26.4 cm. × 20.4 cm.; 295 folia. The codex contains pictures of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (all seated).<sup>1</sup>

Matthew is depicted as a middle-aged man sitting in a chair beside a writing desk. His hair is short, his beard is of medium length, and both are streaked with grey. There is no nimbus around his head. On his left knee he holds a piece of parchment, on which he is writing. His feet, which are shod with sandals, rest on a cushion.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest, and on the latter is the text which the evangelist is copying. On the writing desk are an inkstand, a pen, and a knife; and inside it are books.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side. The name St Matthew (ὁ ἅγιος Ματθαῖος) is written in uncial letters in the upper part of the background. The miniature is marked off with a line, but there is no ornamental border.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, St Petersburg, 1891-1899, I, p. 104) the manuscript was damaged by water in the year 1875, and the pictures were restored at that time. This fact probably accounts for the type of face seen in these miniatures and the omission of the nimbus. For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate XII.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St Matthew see Plates XXIV, XXVIII, XXXII, and XLI.



St Matthew.



St Mark.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XX.

### ST MARK.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 31 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 91.

For a description of the MS. see p. 76.

Mark is portrayed as a middle-aged man seated on a writing desk. His hair is short, his beard is of medium length, and both are dark. His head is not surrounded by a nimbus. On his right knee he holds an open book, in which he is about to write. He wears sandals, and his feet rest on a cushion.

The writing desk is long and simple in form. On it are an inkstand, a knife, and a pair of compasses. There is no bookrest.

Two conventional buildings, one on either side, constitute the background of the picture. The name St Mark (ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος) is written in uncial letters in the upper part of the background. The miniature has no ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Mark see Plates xxv, xxix, xxxiii, xxxix, xlii, and liii.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

### PLATE XXI.

#### ST LUKE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 31 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 145.

For a description of the MS. see p. 76.

Luke, who is sitting beside a writing desk, is portrayed as a middle-aged man; and his hair and beard are short and dark. With his right hand he is reaching toward the writing desk, and in the left he holds a book. He wears low shoes or slippers, and there is a footrest under his feet. His head is not surrounded by a nimbus.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest. At the right, behind the evangelist, are a column and an arch, which doubtless belong to a building. In the upper part of the background, at the left of the column, is the name St Luke (ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς). The picture has no border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Luke see Plates xxiii, xxvi, xxx, xxxiv, xliii, xlv, li, and liv.



St Luke.





St John.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XXII.

### ST JOHN.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 31 (*Τάφου*), Saec. XI, fol. 233v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 76.

John is represented as an elderly man, sitting in a chair beside a writing desk. His hair is cut short, and his beard is of medium length and streaked with grey. There is no nimbus around his head. He is supporting his chin in his right hand with his elbow on his thigh in an attitude of meditation. He wears sandals, and his right foot rests on a cushion.

The writing desk is simple in design. At one end there is a bookrest, which holds an open book. The only object on the writing desk is an inkstand.

Two conventional buildings, one on either side, form the background of the picture. The words 'St John the Theologian' (*ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος*) are written in uncial letters in the upper part of the background. The miniature has no ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St John see Plates XXVII, XXXI, XXXV, XLIV, XLVIII, LII, LV, LXV, LXVI, and LXXI.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XXIII.

### ST LUKE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 38 (Τάφου), fol. IV.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xi; Acts, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews), and Apocalypse (with scholia on the various books); parchment; 24.5 cm. × 19 cm.; 280 folia. The miniature which is reproduced here is the only picture contained in the codex, and it is found at the beginning of Acts.<sup>1</sup>

Luke is depicted as a middle-aged man seated beside a writing desk. His hair is thick and curly, his beard is short, and both are dark. He wears a tonsure, and a nimbus surrounds his head. His feet are shod with sandals, and they rest upon a stool. He is writing on a piece of parchment, which he holds on his left knee. The draping of the figure and the folds in the garment are worthy of notice.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest with a knotted standard. On the writing desk are an inkstand, a knife, a pair of compasses, and two small objects. Inside it are a bottle of ink, a knife, and a roll.

Conventional buildings form the background of the picture. A piece of drapery is thrown over the roof of the building on the right, and the tops of trees can be seen above it. The name St Luke (ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς) is written in uncial letters in the upper part of the background.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate XIII.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St Luke see Plates XXI, XXVI, XXX, XXXIV, XLIII, XLV, LI, and LIV.



St Luke.



St Matthew.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XXIV.

### ST MATTHEW.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 49 (Τάφου), fol. 17v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xi; Four Gospels; parchment; 20.9 cm. × 17 cm.; 310 folia. The codex contains pictures of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (all seated).<sup>1</sup>

Matthew is represented as an old man sitting beside a writing desk. His hair is short, his beard is rather long, and both are white. There is a nimbus around his head. On his left knee he holds a piece of parchment, and on it he has written the letters βιβλο for βιβλος (*book*), which is the first word of the First Gospel. His left hand is raised to his face. He wears sandals, and his feet rest on a cushion.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest, and on the latter is the text which the evangelist is copying. The standard of the bookrest is in the form of a fish. On the writing desk are an inkstand, a pen, a bottle of ink, a knife, a pair of shears, and a curved instrument of some sort.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side. A curtain hangs before the door of the one on the left. The name St Matthew (ὁ ἅγιος Ματθαῖος) is written in uncial letters in the upper part of the background. The picture is framed in a bay with knotted columns.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate xv.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St Matthew see Plates xix, xxviii, xxxii, and xli.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XXV.

### ST MARK.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 49 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 99v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 81.

Mark is portrayed as a middle-aged man. He is sitting beside a writing desk, looking at a book and holding a pen in his right hand. His hair and beard are short and dark, and a nimbus surrounds his head. He wears sandals, and there is a cushion under his feet.

A bookrest, having a standard in the form of a fish and holding an open book, towers above the writing desk. On the latter are an inkstand, a bottle of ink, a knife, and a curved instrument of some sort.

Two conventional buildings, one on either side, form the background of the picture. The door of the one at the left is curtained. The name St Mark (ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος) is written in uncial letters in the upper part of the background. The miniature is framed in a bay with twisted columns.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Mark see Plates xx, xxix, xxxiii, xxxix, xlii, and liii.



St Mark.



St Luke.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XXVI.

### ST LUKE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 49 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 153v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 81.

Luke is depicted as a middle-aged man sitting beside a writing desk. His hair is short and thick, his beard is sparse, and both are dark. His head is surrounded by a nimbus. On his left knee he holds a piece of parchment, on which he is writing the first word of the Third Gospel—*ἐπιδήπερ* (*sic*), i.e. *ἐπειδήπερ*. His feet are shod with sandals and rest on a cushion.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest, and on the latter is the text which the evangelist is copying. The standard of the bookrest is in the form of a fish. On the writing desk are an inkstand, a bottle of ink, a knife, a pair of shears, and a curved instrument of some sort.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side. The name St Luke (*ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς*) is written in uncial letters in the upper part of the background. The picture is framed in a bay with columns.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Luke see Plates XXI, XXIII, XXX, XXXIV, XLIII, XLV, LI, and LIV.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XXVII.

### ST JOHN.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 49 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 24<sup>IV</sup>.

For a description of the MS. see p. 81.

John is represented as an old man sitting beside a writing desk. His hair is short, his beard is of medium length, and both are grey. There is a nimbus around his head. His hands are resting on his knees, and he is leaning slightly forward in an attitude of meditation. He wears sandals, and there is a cushion under his feet.

A bookrest, holding an open book, rises above the writing desk. Its standard is in the form of a fish. On the writing desk are an inkstand, a pen, a bottle of ink, a pair of shears, and a curved instrument of some sort. Farther back on the writing desk is a piece of parchment, on which are written in uncial letters the first two words of the Fourth Gospel—*ἐν ἀρχῇ*.

Two conventional buildings, one on either side, form the background of the picture. The words 'St John the Theologian' (*ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος*) are written in uncial letters in the upper part of the background. The miniature is framed in a bay with columns.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St John see Plates XXII, XXXI, XXXV, XLIV, XLVIII, LII, LV, LXV, LXVI, and LXXI.





St John.





St Matthew.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XXVIII.

### ST MATTHEW.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 56 (Τάφου), fol. 9v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xi; Four Gospels; parchment; 18.5 cm. × 14.9 cm.; 218 folia. The codex contains the following pictures: Matthew (seated); Mark (seated) and Peter (standing); Luke (seated) and Paul (standing); John (standing) and Prochorus (seated).<sup>1</sup>

Matthew is represented as an elderly man. He is sitting beside a writing desk in the act of writing. On his left knee he holds a book, in which he has written the first four words of the First Gospel—βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. His features are large and strong; his hair is curly; his beard is somewhat long; and both his hair and beard are streaked with grey. His head is surrounded by a nimbus, and his feet are shod with sandals. On the writing desk is an inkstand, in which the evangelist is just dipping his pen.

In the background are two conventional buildings, each with a curtained door, and over them from roof to roof is thrown a large piece of drapery. The name St Matthew (ὁ ἅγιος Ματθαῖος) is written in uncial letters in the upper part of the background. The picture has no ornamental border.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate xvi.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St Matthew see Plates xix, xxiv, xxxii, and xli.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XXIX.

### ST MARK AND ST PETER.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 56 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 68v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 85.

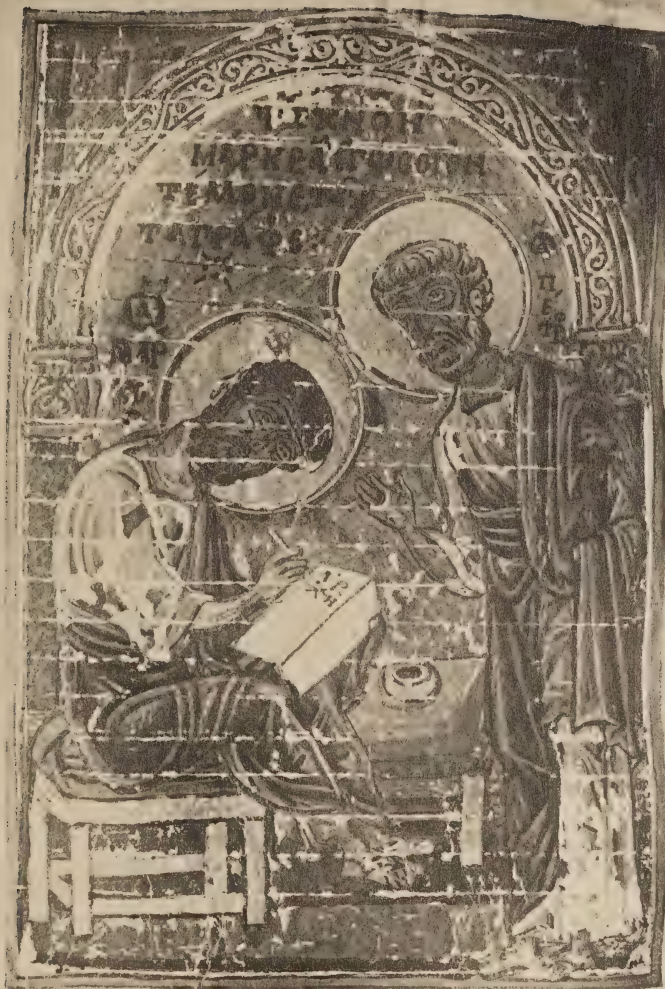
Mark, who is seated at the left, is depicted as a middle-aged man. His hair and beard are short and dark, and his head is inclined forward and surrounded by a nimbus. He holds a book on his left knee; and as Peter dictates, Mark writes in it. He has just finished the first word of his gospel—ἀρχή. His feet are shod with sandals. He is sitting beside a table, on which there is an inkstand.

Peter, who is standing at the right, is portrayed as an elderly man. His hair is short and curly; his beard is also short; and both are grey. He is leaning forward slightly with his right hand extended, and there is a nimbus about his head. He wears sandals on his feet.

At the left of the nimbus surrounding the head of Mark is the name St Mark (ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος), and at the right of the nimbus about Peter's head is the name St Peter (ὁ ἅγιος Πέτρος). In the upper part of the background are written these words: Τέκνον Μάρκε, ἃ ἐγὼ σοι ἐντέλλομε (*sic*), ταῦτα γράφε, *Child Mark, what things I command thee, these write.*

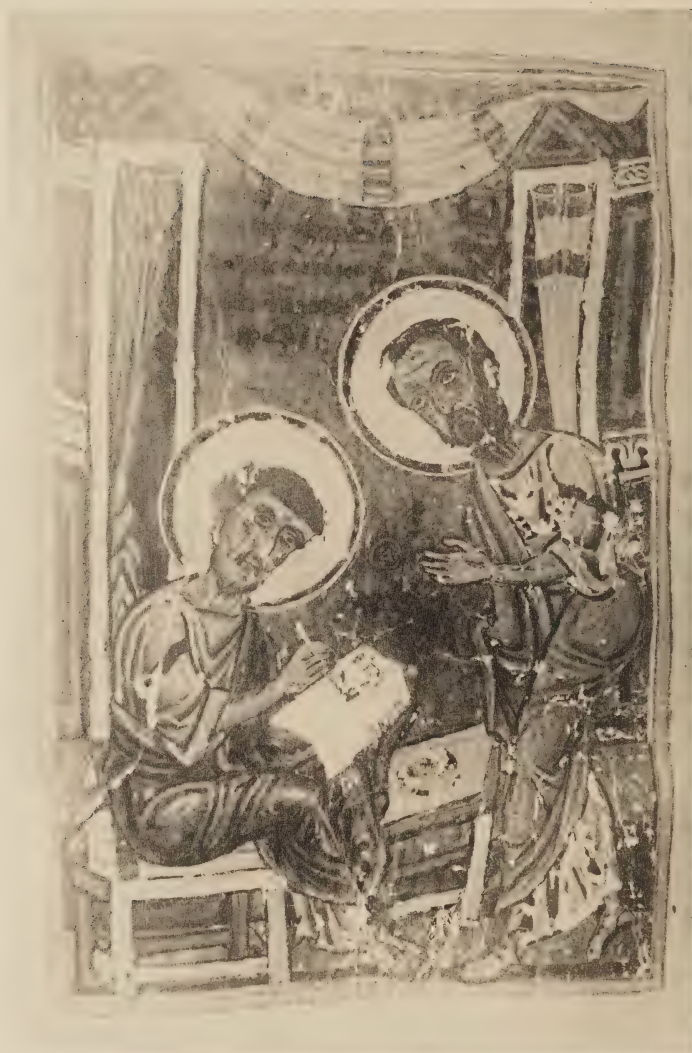
Both figures are represented under a bay with an ornamented arch. The picture has no decorative border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Mark see Plates xx, xxv, xxxiii, xxxix, xlii, and liii. For other pictures of St Peter see Plates xxxvii, xlvii, lxxv, lxxix, lxx, and lxxxi.



St Mark and St Peter.





St Luke and St Paul.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XXX.

### ST LUKE AND ST PAUL.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 56 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 105v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 85.

Paul, who is standing at the right, is depicted as a middle-aged man with short hair and a long beard, both of which are dark. He is leaning forward, with his left hand extended, in the act of dictating.

Luke, who is also portrayed as a middle-aged man, is sitting beside a writing desk at the left. His hair and beard are short and dark. He holds a book on his left knee, and in it he has written part of the first word of the Third Gospel—*ἐπειδήπερ*. He is recording what Paul dictates. A nimbus surrounds the head of each figure, and both wear sandals. There is an inkstand on the writing desk.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side and each having a curtained door. A large piece of drapery has been thrown over them from roof to roof. In the upper part of the background are written these words: *Τέκνον Λουκά, ἃ οἶδας καὶ ἤκουσας, ταῦτα γράφε*, *Child Luke, what things thou knowest and hast heard, these write*. Above the nimbus surrounding the head of Paul is the name St Paul (ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος), and at the right of the nimbus about the head of Luke is the name St Luke (ὁ ἅγιος Λουκάς).

The miniature has no ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Luke see Plates XXI, XXIII, XXVI, XXXIV, XLIII, XLV, LI, and LIV. For another picture of St Paul see Plate L.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

PLATE XXXI.

## ST JOHN AND PROCHORUS.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 56 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 164v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 85.

John, who is represented as an old man, is standing at the right. His hair is short, his beard is long, and both are grey. He is lifting up his hands and looking up to heaven, whence the gospel is being revealed to him. Above at the right the hand of God can be seen. John is dictating the gospel to Prochorus.<sup>1</sup>

The latter, who is seated beside a writing desk at the left, is much younger. His hair and beard are short and dark. He has a pen in his right hand; and on his left knee he holds a book, in which he has written the first four words of the Fourth Gospel—*ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ*. Prochorus is recording as John dictates. The head of each figure is surrounded by a nimbus, and both are shod with sandals. There is an inkstand on the writing desk.

In the background, at the left, there is a conventional building with a small turret and a curtained door. At the right of the nimbus surrounding the head of John are the words 'St John the Theologian' (*ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος*), and at the right of the nimbus about the head of Prochorus is the name St Prochorus (*ὁ ἅγιος Πρόχωρος [sic]*). In the upper part of the background, at the right, are the words: *Τέκνον Πρόχωρε (sic), ἃ ἀκούεις παρ' ἐμοῦ, ταῦτα γράφε, Child Prochorus, what things thou hearest from me, these write.*<sup>2</sup>

The miniature has no ornamental border.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the tradition that St John dictated his gospel to Prochorus on the island of Patmos before setting out for Ephesus see the Acts of John composed by Prochorus in Zahn, *Acta Joannis* (Erlangen, 1880), pp. 154 ff. The work of Prochorus enjoyed great favor and was widely read in the Greek Church. It was probably composed in the first half of the fifth century by a writer living in Palestine or Syria. Cf. R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* (Brunswick, 1883-1890), I, pp. 406 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Acta Joannis* (ed. Zahn, p. 155): *τέκνον Πρόχωρε, ἅπερ ἀκούεις ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματός μου κατὰ γράφε ἐπὶ τοὺς χάρτας.*

<sup>3</sup> For other pictures of St John see Plates xxii, xxvii, xxxv, xlii, xlviii, lii, lv, lxi, lxxi, and lxxii. The following manuscripts also contain miniatures of St John dictating to Prochorus: British Museum, Burney MS. 19; Add. MS. 22739; and Vienna, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Suppl. gr. 128. See Sir G. F. Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, Series II (second edition, London: British Museum, 1910), Plate I; G. Milligan in *The History of Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge* (London and Glasgow: Blackie and Son, Ltd., 1929), opp. p. 276; and H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei* (Vienna: Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1926), Tafel xx.



St John and Prochorus.



St Matthew.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XXXII.

### ST MATTHEW.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 60 (Τάφου), fol. 12v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xi; Four Gospels; parchment; 14 cm. × 11.2 cm.; 239 folia. The codex contains pictures of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (all seated).<sup>1</sup>

Matthew is sitting beside a writing desk. Unfortunately the miniature is so badly damaged that little can be seen of the evangelist's head and the upper part of his body. In his lap there is a long piece of parchment, and he holds a pen in his right hand. With the left he is apparently turning a leaf of the book which he is copying. He wears sandals, and under his feet there is a cushion.

A bookrest, on which lies an open book, rises above the writing desk; and on the latter are an inkstand, two knives, and some other object.

The background is neutral, and the picture is enclosed in a simple border.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate xvii.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St Matthew see Plates xix, xxiv, xxviii, and xli.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XXXIII.

### ST MARK.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 60 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 77v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 89.

Mark is depicted as a middle-aged man seated beside a writing desk in an attitude of meditation. His hair and beard are short and dark, and his head is surrounded by a nimbus. There is a book in his lap, in his right hand he holds a pen, and the left is raised to his face. He wears sandals, and his feet rest on a cushion.

A bookrest, which holds an open book, towers above the writing desk. On the latter are an inkstand, a sponge, two knives, and a pair of compasses.

The background is neutral. In the upper part of it, on the right, the name St Mark (ὁ ἅγιος [*sic*] Μάρκος) is inscribed in uncial letters. On the left a later hand has written the words 'St Mark the Evangelist' (ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος ὁ εὐαγγελιστής). The miniature is framed in a simple border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Mark see Plates xx, xxv, xxix, xxxix, xlii, and liii.





St Mark.





St Luke.

## Descriptions of Miniatures

### PLATE XXXIV.

#### ST LUKE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 60 (*Táφου*), Saec. XI, fol. 122v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 89.

Luke, who is sitting beside a writing desk, is portrayed as a middle-aged man. His hair and beard are short and dark, and there is a nimbus around his head. He is writing in a book, which he holds in his lap. His feet are shod with sandals, and they rest upon a cushion.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest, on which lies an open book. This is the text which the evangelist is copying. The standard of the bookrest is in the form of a fish. On the writing desk are an inkstand, a sponge, and two knives.

The background is neutral, and the picture is enclosed in a simple border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Luke see Plates XXI, XXIII, XXVI, XXX, XLIII, XLV, LI, and LIV.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XXXV.

### ST JOHN.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 60 (Τάφου), Saec. XI, fol. 191v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 89.

John is represented as an old man seated beside a writing desk. He is looking slightly upward. His hair is short, his beard is of medium length, and both are grey. There is a nimbus around his head. His right hand rests lightly on the arm of the chair; and the left, in which he holds a pen, lies on his left knee. He wears sandals, and under his feet there is a cushion.

A bookrest, holding an open book, rises above the writing desk. On the latter are an inkstand, two sponges, two knives, and another object (probably a pair of shears). In the closet below are a bottle of ink and some writing material.

The background is neutral. The name St John (ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης) is written in uncial letters in the upper part of it. The miniature is framed in a simple border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St John see Plates xxii, xxvii, xxxi, xlii, xlviii, lii, lv, lxv, lxvi, and lxxi.



St John.



St James the Just.



# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XXXVI.

### ST JAMES THE JUST.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 37 (Τάφου), fol. 234v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xii; Four Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews); parchment; 24.5 cm. × 17.5 cm.; 355 folia. The codex contains pictures of James, Peter, and Jude; and they were all painted by the same artist.<sup>1</sup>

James is represented as a middle-aged man. He is standing, facing partly towards the right, and he holds a jewelled book in his hands. His hair and beard are of medium length, and both are streaked with grey. His head is surrounded by a nimbus, and his feet are shod with sandals. His features are well portrayed; his pose is easy and natural; and the folds in his outer garment are well executed. The fuller's club does not appear.<sup>2</sup>

The name St James (ὁ ἅγιος Ἰάκωβος) is written in uncial letters in the upper left-hand corner, and the words 'the brother of God' (ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) are in the corresponding right-hand corner. The picture is somewhat lacking in depth and realism on account of the absence of any architectural or scenic background. It is framed in a simple border.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> The tradition that James the Just was slain by a fuller with his club is first mentioned by Hegesippus, a Christian writer of the second century and a native of Palestine. Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II. 23, 18.

<sup>3</sup> For another picture of St James see Plate xlvi.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

PLATE XXXVII.

ST PETER.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 37 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 24ov.

For a description of the MS. see p. 93.

Peter is depicted as a middle-aged man. He is standing squarely on both feet, facing partly to the right, and in his left hand he holds a roll. There is a nimbus around his head. His hair is of medium length, his beard is short, and both are streaked with grey. He is looking slightly upwards. His feet are shod with sandals. The features are good, and the figure is erect and well balanced.

The name St Peter was probably in the upper part of the background, but it is no longer legible. The picture has a simple border, but no background.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Peter see Plates XXIX, XLVII, LXV, LXIX, LXX, and LXXI.



St Peter.



St Jude.

## Descriptions of Miniatures

### PLATE XXXVIII.

#### ST JUDE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 37 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 255v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 93.

Jude is portrayed as a youngish man. He is standing, resting his weight on his left foot and facing towards the front. His eyes are turned a little to the right. His hair and beard are dark and of medium length. He holds a jewelled book in his hands, a nimbus surrounds his head, and on his feet are sandals. The pose of the figure recalls that of an ancient Greek statue of a poet or orator, and the folds of the garment are well represented.

The name St Jude (ὁ ἅγιος Ἰουδᾶς) is written in uncial letters in the upper corners. The picture has no background, and it is enclosed in a simple border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For another picture of St Jude see Plate XLIX.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XXXIX.

### ST MARK.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 41 (Τάφου), fol. 84v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xii; Four Gospels; parchment; 23.7 cm. × 16.6 cm.; 298 folia. The codex contains only this picture of Mark.<sup>1</sup>

Mark, who is depicted as a middle-aged man, is sitting beside a bookrest. His hair and beard are short and dark, and his head is surrounded by a nimbus. He holds a pen in his right hand, and in his lap there is an open book. In the latter he has written the first five words of his gospel—ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. His left hand rests on a bookrest, and his feet are shod with sandals.

The bookrest stands on the floor,<sup>2</sup> and on it lies an open roll containing the text which the evangelist is copying.

The background is neutral. In the upper part of it, on either side of the nimbus, is written the name St Mark (ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος). The picture is enclosed in a simple border.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Usually in portraits of the evangelists the bookrest rises from the writing table.

<sup>3</sup> For other pictures of St Mark see Plates xx, xxv, xxix, xxxiii, xlii, and lili.



St Mark.



# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XL.

### CHRIST.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), fol. 7.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xii; Four Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews); parchment; 21.9 cm. × 16.4 cm.; 216 folia. The codex contains the following pictures: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (all seated) with a picture of Christ on the opposite page in each case; Luke (seated) at the beginning of Acts; and small pictures of James, Peter, John, Jude, and Paul.<sup>1</sup>

This portrait of Christ with its ornamental setting is the headpiece to the Gospel according to St Matthew. There is a nimbus with a cross around the Lord's head. With his right hand he is making the sign of benediction, and in the left he holds a jewelled book. In the medallion, beside the figure, are the letters IC XC, i.e. Jesus Christ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of Christ see Plates II, III, IX, XII, LXIV, LXV, LXVI, LXVIII, LXIX, and LXXI. For similar ornamentation see Plates XLV–L.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XLI.

### ST MATTHEW.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 6v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

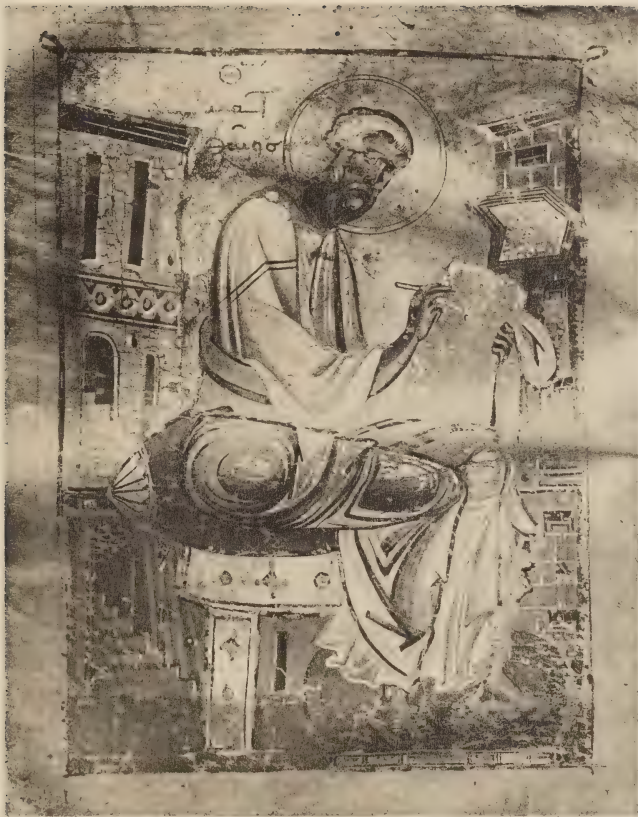
Matthew, who is seated beside a writing desk, is represented as an elderly man. His hair is short and white; his beard is of medium length and is streaked with white; and his head is surrounded by a nimbus. He is reading a piece of parchment, which he holds before him; and in his right hand there is a pen. He has been copying the text on the bookrest, and he seems to be correcting what he has written. His feet are shod with sandals.

A bookrest, on which an open book is lying, rises above the writing desk. On the latter are an inkstand and two pens.

There are two conventional buildings in the background, one on either side. At the left of the nimbus is the name St Matthew (ὁ ἅγιος Ματθαῖος). The picture has no ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Matthew see Plates XIX, XXIV, XXVIII, and XXXII.





St Matthew.



St Mark.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XLII.

### ST MARK.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 38v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

Mark, who is sitting beside a writing desk, is depicted as a middle-aged man. His hair and beard are short and dark, and a nimbus surrounds his head. He is writing on a piece of parchment, which he holds in his left hand. He has just finished the first two words of his gospel and the first letter of the third—ἀρχὴ τοῦ ε. His feet are shod with sandals.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest, and on the latter lies the text which the evangelist is copying. On the writing desk are an inkstand and two pens.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side. Between the building on the left and the nimbus is the name St Mark (ὁ ἄγιος Μάρκος). The miniature has no ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Mark see Plates xx, xxv, xxix, xxxiii, xxxix, and lili.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XLIII.

### ST LUKE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 57v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

Luke, who is seated beside a writing desk, is portrayed as a middle-aged man. His hair is short and curly, his beard is also short, and both are dark. A nimbus surrounds his head. He is writing on a piece of parchment, which he holds in his left hand. His feet are shod with sandals.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest, and on the latter lies an open roll. This is the text which the evangelist is copying. There is an inkstand on the writing desk.

Two conventional buildings are in the background, one on either side. At the left of the nimbus is the name St Luke (ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς). The picture has no ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Luke see Plates XXI, XXIII, XXVI, XXX, XXXIV, XLV, LI, and LIV.



St Luke.





St John.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XLIV.

### ST JOHN.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 89v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

John, who is sitting in an armchair beside a writing desk, is represented as an old man. He is partly bald, and the hair which remains is white. His beard, which is rather long, is also white. A nimbus surrounds his head, and his feet are shod with sandals. His body is inclined slightly forward; and he is reading a jewelled book, which he holds in both hands.

A bookrest rises above the writing desk, and on the latter are an inkstand and two pens.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side. Between the nimbus and the building on the left are the words 'St John the Theologian' (ὁ ἄγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος). The miniature has no ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St John see Plates XXII, XXVII, XXXI, XXXV, XLVIII, LII, LV, LXV, LXVI, and LXXI.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XLV.

### ST LUKE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 113.

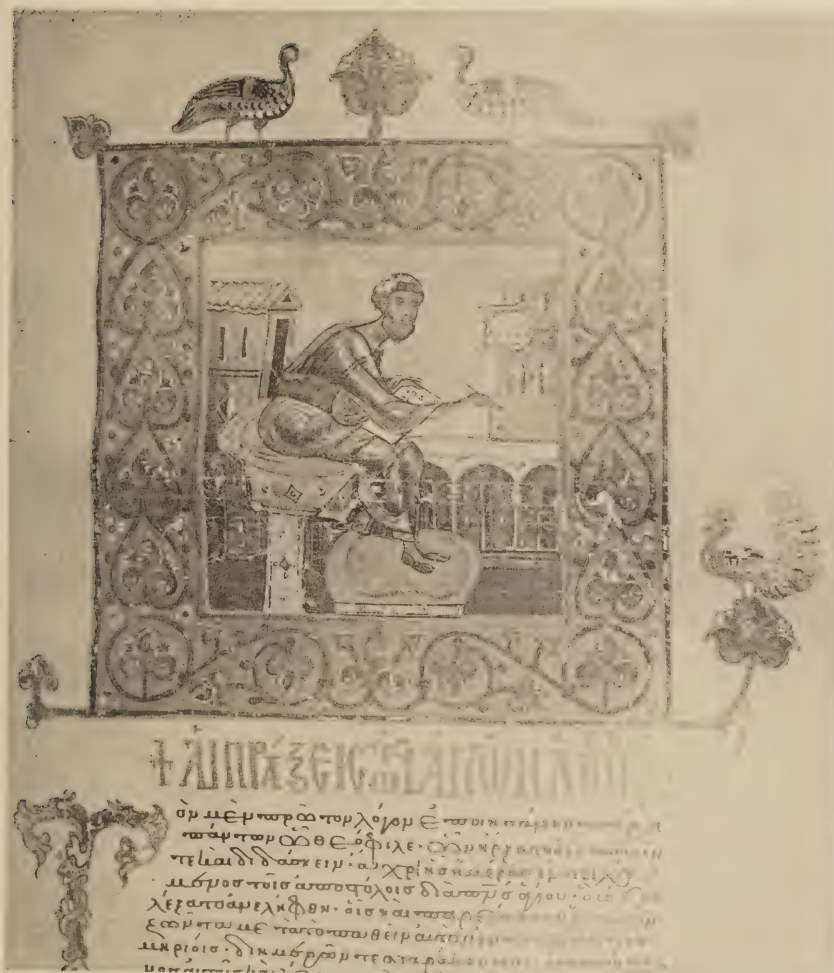
For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

Luke is represented as a middle-aged man sitting beside a writing desk. His hair and beard are short and dark, and his head is surrounded by a nimbus. He is bending forward, dipping his pen into an inkstand. In his lap he holds a piece of parchment, on which he has written part of the first word of the Third Gospel—*ἐπιδιπε* (*sic*), i.e. *ἐπειδήπερ*. He wears sandals, and his feet rest on a cushion.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest, and on the latter lies the text which the evangelist is copying.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side. The name is not given. The picture is enclosed in an elaborate border, which is ornamented above with two birds and at the lower right-hand corner with a cock. The miniature is the headpiece to the Book of Acts. Although it was painted to serve this purpose, it is evident from what is written on the piece of parchment that the picture was taken directly or indirectly from one that was intended to accompany the Third Gospel.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Luke see Plates XXI, XXIII, XXVI, XXX, XXXIV, XLIII, LI, and LIV.



St Luke.



τὸ λείον ἐχέτω· ἰνῶν τε τὸ λείον καὶ ὁ λόκληρὸν ἐν ἡμῶν  
 μιλεῖσόμενοι· εἶδε πρὸς ἡμῶν λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν φῖας· αἰτῆρα  
 παρὰ τοῦ διδούτος θύ· πᾶσι μὲν ἀλλὰ οὐ καὶ ἐν ἡμῶν·

St James the Just.



# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XLVI.

### ST JAMES THE JUST.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 146.

For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

James is represented as an old man with white hair and beard. His hair is short, his beard is rather long, his countenance is grave, and a nimbus surrounds his head. He is clad in a phelonion, a peritrachelion, and an omophorion. The last mentioned vestment is worn only by bishops of the Greek Church.<sup>1</sup> He holds a jewelled book in his hands, and he doubtless had sandals on his feet.<sup>2</sup>

James is standing before a podium, behind which rise two conventional buildings, one on either side. The picture has no ornamental border, and above it is written the name St James (ὁ ἅγιος Ἰάκωβος [*sic*]). The miniature is the headpiece to the Epistle of James.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, who cites Clement of Alexandria as his authority, says that James the Just was the first bishop of Jerusalem. Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 1, 2 and 3. See also ii. 23, 1; and iv. 5, 3. The tradition that James was slain by a fuller with his club is first mentioned by Hegesippus, a Christian writer of the second century and a native of Palestine. Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.*, ii. 23, 18.

<sup>2</sup> See the corresponding figures of St John and St Jude (Plates XLVIII and XLIX).

<sup>3</sup> For another picture of St James see Plate XXXVI.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XLVII.

### ST PETER.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 149.

For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

Peter is depicted as an elderly man with short, curly hair and a short beard, both of which were probably grey. They appear white in the reproduction on account of the flaking off of the paint. His head is surrounded by a nimbus. He is gesturing with his right hand, and in the left he holds a roll. His feet were doubtless shod with sandals.<sup>1</sup>

Peter is standing before a podium; and behind it are two conventional buildings, one on either side. The miniature has no ornamental border, and above it is written the name St Peter (ὁ ἅγιος Πέτρος). The picture is the head-piece to the First Epistle of Peter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the corresponding figures of St John and St Jude (Plates XLVIII and XLIX).

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St Peter see Plates XXIX, XXXVII, LXV, LXIX, LXX, and LXXI.





# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE XLVIII.

### ST JOHN.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 153v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

John is portrayed as an old man with short hair and a long beard, both of which are white. His forehead is high, his shoulders are stooped, and there is a nimbus about his head. He holds a book in his hands, and he wears sandals.

John is standing before a podium, behind which are seen two conventional buildings, one on either side. The picture has no ornamental border, and above it is written the name St John (ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης).<sup>1</sup> The miniature is the headpiece to the First Epistle of John.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Something has been erased after Ἰωάννης.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St John see Plates XXII, XXVII, XXXI, XXXV, XLIV, LII, LV, LXV, LXVI, and LXXI.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE XLIX.

### ST JUDE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 157v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

Jude is represented as a middle-aged man with short hair and a rather long beard, both of which are dark. His head is surrounded by a nimbus, and his feet are shod with sandals. He is gesturing with his right hand, and in the left he holds a roll.

Jude is standing before a podium, behind which rise two conventional buildings, one on either side. In the upper part of the background are the words 'the holy Apostle Jude' (ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος Ἰούδας). The miniature has no ornamental border. It is the headpiece to the Epistle of Jude.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For another picture of St Jude see Plate XXXVIII.

ἀλλ' οὐ θελῶ δι' αμείλας σὺ καὶ καλὰ μὲν σοὶ γράψαι· ἐλπί-  
 βω δὲ εὐθεὶ ὡς ἰδεῖμ σε· καὶ σὺ μοι παρὸς τοὺς μαλ' ἀλλή-  
 σσωμεν· εἰρήμην σοὶ· ἀσπάζομαι τε σέ οἱ φίλοι· ἀσπάζομαι  
 τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὸ νόμῳ.

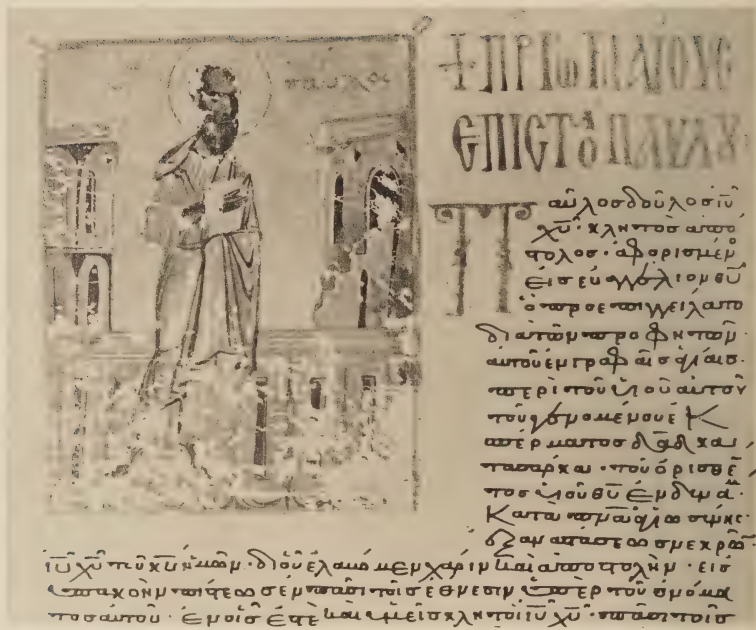


καὶ καθολικὴ ἐπιστολὴ:

σύ λῃς· χυτὸν δούλος· αὐ-  
 δελφῶς δὲ εἰς χάριτος· τοῖς  
 ἐμῶν παρὶν ἡγιασμένοις·  
 καὶ τοῦ χυτὸν τῆς κλημενίας·  
 ἀλλήτοις· ἐλεος ἐμὸν καὶ  
 εἰρήμην καὶ χάριν καὶ χάρι-  
 θεν· ἀποστολὴν· παῶν  
 ἀποδοκίμων· ποιοῦμεν ποτε  
 ἐμὸν παρὶν τῆς χάριτος  
 ὁρίας· ἀφ' ἧς κληρονομή-  
 ῃ· ἀμὲν· παρὰ χαλῶν·  
 παρὸν· ἐλεος· τῆς  
 πατρὸς παρὰ δούλου·  
 τοῖς ἀλλοῖς· ποτε·  
 ῥησεν· ἀποστολὴν·  
 ἀμὲν· οἱ παῖδες·

γράμμι· ἐμοὶ εἰς τοῦτο· τὸ κρίμα· ἀπὸ τοῦ·  
 κῆδος· χαρὶς· μετὰ τιθεῖν· ἐν· ἐπὶ· ἀσπάζομαι· καὶ· τὸ νόμῳ·

St Jude.



St Paul.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE L.

### ST PAUL.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 47 (Τάφου), Saec. XII, fol. 159.

For a description of the MS. see p. 97.

Paul is portrayed as a middle-aged man with short hair and a rather long beard, both of which are dark. His forehead is high, and there is a nimbus around his head. He holds a book in his hands, and he doubtless had sandals on his feet.<sup>1</sup>

Paul is standing before a podium, and behind it are two conventional buildings, one on either side. In the upper part of the background is the name St Paul (ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος). The picture has no ornamental border. It is the headpiece to the Epistle to the Romans.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the corresponding figures of St John and St Jude (Plates XLVIII and XLIX).

<sup>2</sup> For another picture of St Paul see Plate XXX.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE LI.

### ST LUKE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 23 (Φωτίου Παρθενίου), fol. 272v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xii; Four Gospels; parchment; 19.5 cm. × 13.5 cm.; 348 folia (some being paper). The codex contains pictures of Luke and John (both seated).<sup>1</sup>

Luke, who is sitting beside a writing desk, is depicted as a middle-aged man. His hair and beard are short and dark, and his head is surrounded by a nimbus. In his lap there is a book, in which something has been written; and he is dipping his pen into an inkstand with his right hand.

A bookrest rises above the writing desk, and on it lies the text which the evangelist is copying. The text contains the first word and part of the second word of the Third Gospel—*ἐπιδήπερ* (*sic*) *πο*.

The picture has an architectural background. At the top, above the building on the left, is the name St Luke (ὁ ἅγιος Λουκάς). The miniature has no ornamental border. It is so badly damaged that it is impossible to describe it fully.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St Luke see Plates xxi, xxiii, xxvi, xxx, xxxiv, xliii, xlv, and liv.



St Luke.





St John.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

PLATE LII.

ST JOHN.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 23 (Φωτίου Παρθενίου), Saec. XII, fol. 168v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 108.

John, who is seated beside a writing desk, is portrayed as an old man. His hair is short, his beard is rather long, and both are grey. His head is inclined forward and surrounded by a nimbus. He wears sandals, and his feet rest upon a cushion. In his lap he holds a book, in which he has written the first words of the Fourth Gospel—*ἐν ἀρχῇ [ἦν] ὁ λόγος*.

The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest, and on the latter is the text which is being copied. There is an inkstand on the writing desk, and underneath can be seen a bottle of ink.

The miniature has an architectural background. At the top, above the buildings, are the words 'St John the Theologian' (ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος). The picture has no ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St John see Plates XXII, XXVII, XXXI, XXXV, XLIV, XLVIII, LV, LXV, LXVI, and LXXI.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE LIII.

### ST MARK.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 28 (Φωτίου Παρθενίου), fol. 65 v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xii; Four Gospels; parchment; 17 cm. × 13 to 14 cm.; 226 folia. The codex contains pictures of Mark, Luke, and John (all seated).<sup>1</sup>

Mark, who is sitting beside a writing desk, is represented as a middle-aged man. His hair and beard are short and dark, and a nimbus surrounds his head. He wears sandals, and there is a cushion under his feet. In his lap is a piece of parchment, on which his right hand rests. His left hand is extended to a bookrest.

A bookrest rises above the writing desk, and on it lies an open roll containing a text. This is doubtless meant to be the Second Gospel, though black marks are made upon it instead of letters. There is an inkstand on the writing desk.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side. The picture is framed in a simple border.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in press, entitled *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris: Geuthner), Plate xl.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St Mark see Plates xx, xxv, xxix, xxxiii, xxxix, and xlii.



St Mark.



St Luke.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE LIV.

### ST LUKE.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 28 (*Φωτίου Παρθενίου*), Saec. XII, fol. 109v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 110.

Luke, who is seated beside a writing desk, is portrayed as a middle-aged man with short hair and beard. These were both dark, though on account of the flaking off of the paint they appear white in the reproduction. There is a nimbus about his head, and his body is inclined forward. His feet are shod with sandals, and they rest upon a cushion. In his left hand he holds a piece of parchment, on which are written eight letters representing the first two words of the Third Gospel—*ἐπειδήπερ πολλοί*. With his right hand he is dipping his pen into an inkstand.

There is an inkstand on the writing desk, and in the cupboard below are a bottle of ink and two rolls. The writing desk is surmounted by a bookrest, and on the latter is the text which the evangelist is copying.

Two conventional buildings, one on either side, are in the background. The miniature has a simple border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Luke see Plates XXI, XXIII, XXVI, XXX, XXXIV, XLIII, XLV, and LI.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE LV.

### ST JOHN.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 28 (Φωτίου Παρθενίου), Saec. XII, fol. 176v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 110.

John, who is sitting beside a writing desk, is depicted as an old man with short hair and a long beard, both of which were doubtless grey or white. The paint has flaked off, so that the hair and beard appear white in the reproduction. His head is inclined forward and surrounded by a nimbus, and he wears sandals. His right foot rests upon a cushion, and the left is in a cramped position between the cushion and the writing desk. He holds a partly opened book in his hands, and in it are the first two words of the Fourth Gospel—*ἐν ἀρχῇ*.

There is an inkstand on the writing desk, and the doors of the cupboard below are partly open. A bookrest rises above the writing desk, and on it lies an open roll.

The picture has no architectural background, and it is enclosed in a simple border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St John see Plates xxii, xxvii, xxxi, xxxv, xliv, xlviii, lii, lxv, lxvi, and lxxi.



St John.



Job and Bildad.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE LVI.

### JOB AND BILDAD.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 5 (Τάφου), fol. 85v.

Description of the MS.: Greek; saec. xiii; Job according to the LXX version with commentary; parchment; 36.9 to 37.1 cm. × 26.6 to 27.3 cm.; 260 folia. The codex contains 117 miniatures depicting scenes from the Book of Job. They are in the text and in the margin. Most of them are damaged, in part intentionally and in part by accident. Each one is marked off with a line, but none of them have ornamental borders.<sup>1</sup>

This miniature is found in Bildad's speech in the first cycle of the debate (Job ch. 8). Bildad, who is seated on a rock at the right, is addressing Job.

The patriarch is sitting on a dunghill at the left, naked and covered with sores.<sup>2</sup> In all the pictures he is represented as an old man with short, grey hair and beard, and in some of them his features are excellent. In most of the miniatures there is a nimbus around his head; but in this case, doubtless through oversight, it has been omitted.

Bildad on the other hand is middle-aged. His hair is long, his beard is short, and both are dark. On his feet he wears shoes. Both he and Job are extending their right hands, as if they were speaking.

In the background are three conventional trees and some stones.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see Plate LXXII, 2.

<sup>2</sup> According to the LXX Job 'sat upon the dunghill outside the city;' but according to the Hebrew text he 'sat among the ashes,' without any further indication of place. Cf. Job 2: 8.

<sup>3</sup> For other pictures of Job see Plates LVII, LVIII, LIX, LX, LXI, and LXII. For other miniatures of Bildad see Plates LVIII, LIX, LX, and LXI.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE LVII.

### JOB AND ELIPHAZ.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 5 (*Τάφου*), Saec. XIII, fol. 129v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 113.

This picture occurs in Job's first speech in the second cycle of the debate (Job ch. 16 and 17).

The patriarch, sitting on a dunghill at the left with his right hand extended, is addressing Eliphaz, who is seated on the ground before him. Eliphaz is depicted as a young man with long, dark hair and no beard. He is clad in a figured garment, has a chaplet of flowers on his head, and wears shoes. His right hand is extended; and in the left, which rests upon his knee, he holds a small branch.

The background of the miniature is neutral.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of Job see Plates LVI, LVIII, LIX, LX, LXI, and LXII. For other miniatures of Eliphaz see Plates LIX, LX, and LXI.



Job and Eliphaz.





Job and Bildad.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE LVIII.

### JOB AND BILDAD.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 5 (Τάφου), Saec. XIII, fol. 134.

For a description of the MS. see p. 113.

This miniature occurs in Bildad's speech in the second cycle of the debate (Job ch. 18).

Bildad, who is seated on a rock at the left, is addressing Job; and the latter is sitting on a dunghill at the right. The right hand of each is extended, as if they were engaged in debate. A barren rock forms the background of the picture.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of Job see Plates LVI, LVII, LIX, LX, LXI, and LXII. For other miniatures of Bildad see Plates LVI, LIX, LX, and LXI.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE LIX.

### JOB, ELIPHAZ, AND BILDAD.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 5 (Τάφου), Saec. XIII, fol. 165v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 113.

This picture is at the beginning of Job's first speech in the third cycle of the debate (Job ch. 23 and 24). Eliphaz has just finished speaking.

The patriarch, who is sitting on a dunghill at the left, is addressing two of his friends, probably Eliphaz and Bildad. The latter are seated on a bench before him. They are clad in garments of different color; but in expression, stature, and pose they are almost identical. The right hands of Job and Eliphaz are extended, as if they were engaged in debate.

The background of the miniature is neutral.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of Job see Plates LVI, LVII, LVIII, LX, LXI, and LXII. For other miniatures of Eliphaz see Plates LVII, LX, and LXI. For other pictures of Bildad see Plates LVI, LVIII, LX, and LXI.



Job, Eliphaz, and Bildad.



Job and his Three Friends.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE LX.

### JOB AND HIS THREE FRIENDS.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 5 (Τάφου), Saec. XIII, fol. 193v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 113.

This miniature is found in Job's vindication of himself (Job ch. 27-31).

The patriarch, seated on a dunghill at the left, is addressing Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, who are standing before him. The three figures are strikingly similar in dress and pose. Job's right hand is extended, and his eyes are fixed on his friends.

Behind the latter, at the right, is a rock; and in the foreground are grass and flowers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of Job see Plates LVI, LVII, LVIII, LIX, LXI, and LXII. For another miniature of his three friends see Plate LXI.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE LXI.

### JOB AND HIS THREE FRIENDS.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 5 (Τάφου), Saec. XIII, fol. 206.

For a description of the MS. see p. 113.

This picture is at the end of Job's vindication of himself (Job ch. 27-31).

The patriarch, who is sitting on a dunghill at the left with his right hand extended, is maintaining his righteousness in the presence of his three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. The latter, who are seated in a row before him, are clearly differentiated. Eliphaz is depicted as an old man with a long beard, which, like his hair, is grey. Bildad is middle-aged, and his hair and beard are dark. Zophar is represented as a beardless youth with long, dark hair. Each one wears a garment of a different color. The faces of all the figures are excellent, and the folds in the garments of the friends are well executed.

A conventional building forms the background of the miniature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of Job see Plates LVI, LVII, LVIII, LIX, LX, and LXII. For another miniature of his three friends see Plate LX.



Job and his Three Friends.



Job and the Lord.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE LXII.

### JOB AND THE LORD.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 5 (*Τάφου*), Saec. XIII, fol. 227v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 113.

This miniature occurs at the beginning of God's answer to Job (Job ch. 38-41).

The Lord appears in a semi-oval in the upper left-hand part of the picture. Only his head and the upper half of his body are seen. He is represented as a middle-aged man with long hair and a short beard, both of which are dark. He is clad in an outer garment, and a nimbus with a cross surrounds his head. He is making the sign of benediction with his right hand, and in the left he holds a small roll.

The patriarch is standing at the right. His body is clothed, but his feet are bare. He is looking up at the Lord, and his hands are raised in adoration. The folds in his garment are exceptionally well executed.

There are some flowers in the foreground, and the background is neutral.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of Job see Plates LVI, LVII, LVIII, LIX, LX, and LXI.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE LXIII.

### SPINNING AND WEAVING.

Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem.

Codex 5 (Τάφου), Saec. XIII, fol. 234v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 113.

This picture is found among the miniatures which illustrate God's answer to Job (Job ch. 38-41). It is based on the LXX reading in 38:36, which differs notably from the Hebrew text in this place.<sup>1</sup>

At the left a woman is sitting on a stool beside an upright loom in the act of weaving. On the ground just behind the loom is a large comb, which was used for beating up the woof. The web which is being woven contains a fancy pattern. The woman's head is covered with the upper part of her outer garment.

At the right and a little in the rear another woman is seated on the ground beside a distaff engaged in spinning. With her right hand she is turning the spindle, while with the left she is pulling the flax or wool from the distaff. Her head is uncovered.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side.

<sup>1</sup> The LXX reads 'And who gave to women wisdom in weaving (ὁφάσματος σοφίαν) or skill in embroidery (ποικιλικήν ἐπιστήμην)?'. The Hebrew text is sometimes interpreted thus: 'Who hath put wisdom in the reins (טַחֲוֹת), or who hath given understanding to the mind (שִׁכּוֹי)?' But the meaning of the two Hebrew words just mentioned is doubtful. According to some scholars טַחֲוֹת signifies cloud-layers or dark clouds, and שִׁכּוֹי means a celestial phenomenon or a meteor. This interpretation suits the context better than the other.



Spinning and Weaving.





# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE LXIV.

### ORNAMENTAL CROSS WITH BUSTS OF SIMEON AND JESUS IN THE CENTRE.

Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Jerusalem.

Codex 28, fol. 34v.

Description of the MS.: Syriac; 1222 A.D.; Lections from the Gospels according to the Harclean version; parchment; 25.8 to 26.2 cm. x 20.2 to 20.7 cm.; 201 folia. The codex was written by a scribe named Bacchus in the Convent of the Mother of God in the holy mountain of Edessa. It contains eight miniatures, of which six are full-page pictures.<sup>1</sup>

This ornament is the headpiece to the lesson appointed for the Festival of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Luke 2:22 ff.). The cross is of the Jerusalem type. In its centre are the busts of two figures—the aged Simeon holding the infant Jesus in his arms. There is a halo about the head of the latter. Simeon wears a head-dress which resembles a mitre. His beard is of medium length, and it is streaked with white.

<sup>1</sup> For a facsimile of the text see a work by the present writer, which is now in preparation, entitled *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, Plate LXXVII.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

PLATE LXV.

## THE LAST SUPPER.

Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Jerusalem.

Codex 28, 1222 A.D., fol. 116v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 121.

Christ and the twelve Apostles are sitting about a semi-circular table.<sup>1</sup> The Lord, who is at the left, is speaking and pointing with his right hand to a large bowl on the table.<sup>2</sup> A nimbus with a cross surrounds his head, and his feet are bare. He holds something, perhaps a roll, or possibly a piece of bread, in his left hand.

Some of the Apostles are young, some are middle-aged, and others are old; and the head of each is surrounded by a nimbus. The one who is sitting next to Christ is John, and the man with the beard next to him is Peter.<sup>3</sup> The Apostle who is reaching towards the bowl is Judas Iscariot. It is not possible to identify the others.

A curtain hangs from the top of the table to the floor. On the table are a large bowl, two goblets, and four other objects (probably loaves of bread).

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side. The one on the right has a dome, and there is a piece of drapery on the roof of each. A tree, which springs from the right hand side, occupies the space between the buildings. The words ܬܡܝܕܐ ܬܡܝܕܐ, i.e. Eucharistic Feast, are written in Estrangelâ letters in the upper part of the background. Over the head of the Apostle who sits next to Christ is the name John, and over that of the one next to him are the words ܬܡܝܕܐ ܬܡܝܕܐ, i.e. the twelve Apostles. The miniature is framed in an ornamental border.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The face of one of the Apostles is hidden behind the heads of the others, but the nimbus around his head can be seen.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mark 14:20 = Matthew 26:23.

<sup>3</sup> For other pictures of St Peter see Plates xxix, xxxvii, xlvii, lxix, lxx, and lxxi.

<sup>4</sup> The Rossano Gospels and the Leningrad lectionary (Public Library, Cod. gr. 21) contain pictures of the Last Supper. See A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano* (Rome, 1907), Plate v; and C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, xi (1929), Fig. 95. There is also a fresco depicting this scene at Qeledjlar. See G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Geuthner, 1925-1928), Plate 49, 2.



The Last Supper.





The Crucifixion.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

PLATE LXVI.

## THE CRUCIFIXION.

Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Jerusalem.

Codex 28, 1222 A.D., fol. 129.

For a description of the MS. see p. 121.

Christ hangs upon the cross. His head, which is surrounded by a nimbus with a cross, is inclined to the left; his arms and legs are bent; and his loins are girt about with a *perizoma*, or cloth reaching down to the knees. His hair is dishevelled, and blood issues from the wound in his right side. The superscription on the cross is written in Estrangêlâ letters—'Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.'<sup>1</sup> A short plank is attached to the upright beam of the cross near the ground, and to this the victim's feet are nailed. Below the arms of the cross are the words ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, i.e. the Crucifixion of our Redeemer.

Under the cross is a skull. It may be that of Adam, who, according to one tradition, was buried on Calvary.<sup>2</sup>

Two women are standing at the left of the cross. Each has a nimbus about her head; and both are wearing mantles, with the upper part of which their heads are covered. The one nearer to Christ, who is extending her right hand, is the Virgin. The words ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ, i.e. the Mother of God, are written beside her.

At the right of the cross are two men, and the head of each is surrounded by a nimbus. The one standing nearer to the cross is the evangelist John, his name being written over his head. He is portrayed as a young man with short, dark hair and no beard. His right hand is raised to his face, which betrays the anguish he is suffering; and his feet are bare.

<sup>1</sup> The superscription, as one would expect in a Harclean lectionary, follows the Harclean version.

<sup>2</sup> This tradition is mentioned by Origen in his commentary on Matthew. Cf. Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xiii, 1777. Moreover, the Ethiopic *Book of Adam and Eve*, a Christian work probably of the fifth or sixth century, contains an account of the removal of Adam's body from the ark to Golgotha after the flood. Cf. S. C. Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve* (London, 1882), pp. 165-171. On the other hand according to a Jewish legend found in a midrash on Genesis the progenitor of the human race was interred at Hebron. Cf. *Bereshith Rabba* lviii (ed. J. Theodor und Ch. Albeck, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1903-1929, pp. 621 f.). In the Babylonian Talmud (*Baba Bathra* 58a) it is said that Rabbi Banaah, who was marking burial caves, came to those of Abraham and Adam; and it seems to be implied that they were in the same place. Abraham was laid to rest in the cave of Machpelah at Hebron (Gen. 25:9). Perhaps, however, a skull is represented at the foot of the cross because the name of the place (Golgotha, *Κρανίον*, Calvaria) means skull.



## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

The other figure, who is apparently clad in a coat of mail, is a Roman soldier. He has a girdle about his waist, and on his head he wears a kerchief resembling an Arab *keffiyeh*. His right hand is raised in benediction, and in the left he holds a shield. Though he has no spear, he is probably Longinus; but no name is given.

Above on either side of the cross are the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, each having a nimbus about his head. The former is on the right and the latter on the left. The sun and moon can be seen between the upper part of the cross and the archangels, the moon being on the right and the sun on the left. The names of the archangels and of the heavenly bodies are given in their proper places.

In the background are two conventional buildings, one on either side; but there are no rocks, trees, or bushes. The picture is enclosed in an ornamental border.<sup>1</sup> [For footnotes see page 130.]

### PLATE LXVII.

#### MARY MAGDALENE AND THE OTHER MARY AT THE SEPULCHRE.

Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Jerusalem.

Codex 28, 1222 A.D., fol. 132.

For a description of the MS. see p. 121.

Mary Magdalene and 'the other Mary' are standing at the left.<sup>2</sup> Their heads are covered and surrounded by nimbi, and their faces are sad. Each holds in her right hand a jar containing perfume, for they have come to anoint the body of Jesus.<sup>3</sup> They both wear shoes.

At the right is an open sepulchre; and before it is an angel,<sup>4</sup> who is pointing with his right hand into the empty tomb. He is sitting on the door of the sepulchre; and this rests on a stone, which he has rolled away from the door. The angel has a nimbus about his head, and his feet are bare.

There is a conventional tree beside the stone. In the background, above the tree, are written in Estrangelâ letters the two words **ܡܪܝܡ ܡܥܠܡܐ**, i.e. Mary and the angel. In the upper left-hand corner are the words **ܡܪܝܡ ܡܥܠܡܐ** **ܡܪܝܡ ܡܥܠܡܐ**, i.e. Mary and Mary, when they came early to the tomb. In the upper right-hand corner, over the sepulchre, is the word **ܡܡܬܐ**, i.e. tomb. The miniature has no ornamental border.<sup>5</sup> [For footnotes see page 130.]



Mary Magdalene and the other Mary at the Sepulchre.



The Harrowing of Hell.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

## PLATE LXVIII.

### THE HARROWING OF HELL.

Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Jerusalem.

Codex 28, 1222 A.D., fol. 133v.

For a description of the MS. see p. 121.

Christ, who is rising from the lower world, occupies the middle of the picture. A nimbus with a cross surrounds his head, and over the nimbus are the words 'Jesus Christ.' His feet are bare, but the nail prints are not represented either in his hands or in his feet. With his right hand he is raising Adam from the abyss, and in the left he holds a cross.

Adam and Eve are at the left. The former is portrayed as an old man with long hair and a beard of medium length, both of which are white. Eve on the other hand is younger, and her head is covered with the upper part of the mantle which she is wearing. There is a nimbus around the head of each, and the names Adam and Eve are written above the nimbus which surrounds Eve's head.

At the right are three figures, each having a nimbus around his head. They are extending their hands in gratitude for their deliverance or in wonder at what is happening. The old man with white hair and beard who is wearing a crown is probably David, and the younger man next to him is one of the prophets. The word **נביאים**, i.e. the prophets, is written beside the nimbus surrounding the old man's head. The figure in the rear is John the Baptist, as the legend above his head shows. He is depicted as an elderly man with grey hair and beard.

A number of objects can be seen in the opening which leads to the lower world. The gates of Hades have fallen and are lying one upon the other in the form of a cross, and several keys are scattered round about.

The words **מנוחתו דגורג**, i.e. the Resurrection of our Lord, are written in Estrangelâ letters in the upper part of the background. The miniature is framed in an ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For another picture of the Harrowing of Hell see Plate II. The same subject is portrayed in the Leningrad lectionary (Public Library, Cod. gr. 21), in the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4), and in mosaics at Daphni and in St Mark's Church in Venice. See C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, XI (1929), Figs. 63, 64, and 66; and J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band LII, 2 (1906), Tafeln XI, XXIII, and LIX. There is a fresco depicting the Harrowing of Hell in a church at El Nazar. See G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Geuthner, 1925-1928), Plate 41, 4. On the legend see p. 59, n. 1.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

## PLATE LXIX.

### THE ASCENSION.

Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Jerusalem.

Codex 28, 1222 A.D., fol. 151.

For a description of the MS. see p. 121.

Above in the middle Christ is seated in a mandorla, which is borne aloft by two angels. With his right hand he is pointing upward, and in the left he holds a roll. A nimbus with a cross surrounds his head, and his feet are bare. The name Jesus Christ is written above the mandorla; and part of the word ܐܡܠܐܝܝܬ, i.e. angel, can still be seen beside the angel on the left.

Below in the middle stands the Virgin. She wears a mantle, the upper part of which covers her head; and she has shoes on her feet. Her head is surrounded by a nimbus, above which are written the words ܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, i.e. the Mother of God. Her hands are raised in wonder.

The Apostles are standing in two groups of six each, one on either side of the Virgin. They are of different ages, all are barefoot, and each has a nimbus about his head. The elderly one at the right of the Virgin who is raising one hand and holding a roll in the other is Peter.<sup>1</sup> The word ܬܠܝܬܐ, i.e. the Apostles, is written over each group; but no names are given.

Two conventional trees and two small bushes give to the scene a touch of outdoor life. In the upper part of the background, on either side of the mandorla, the words ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, i.e. the Ascension of our Lord to Heaven, are written in Estrangêlâ letters. The picture is enclosed in an ornamental border.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Peter see Plates XXIX, XXXVII, XLVII, LXV, LXX, and LXXI.

<sup>2</sup> The Ascension is portrayed in two manuscripts in the British Museum (Harley MS. 1810 and Egerton MS. 1139) and in the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4). See Sir G. F. Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, Series 1 (London, 1907), Plate II; and *op. cit.*, Series III (London, 1908), Plate VI; and J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band LII, 2 (1906), Tafel xvi. There is also a representation of the Ascension on a painted panel from the Sancta Sanctorum now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library. See C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, XI (1929), Fig. 77.



The Ascension.





Pentecost.

# Descriptions of Miniatures

PLATE LXX.

PENTECOST.

Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Jerusalem.

Codex 28, 1222 A.D., fol. 157.

For a description of the MS. see p. 121.

This miniature depicts the scene in the upper room at Pentecost and the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the twelve Apostles.<sup>1</sup> The latter are seated in the form of the letter U. Some of them are young, some are middle-aged, and others are old. No names are given, but the elderly man with curly hair who is at the farther end of the group on the left-hand side is Peter.<sup>2</sup> Each has a nimbus around his head, and all are barefoot. Some are pointing and others are extending their hands, as if they were speaking or conversing. A small flame of fire is burning behind or beside the head of each Apostle, and in the middle of the picture there is a closed door.

Curved lines extend downward into the room from a centre above. They represent the descent of the Holy Spirit, which appears above in the form of a dove.

The words ܠܒܢܐ ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܠܗܘܬܐ, i.e. Pentecost—the Descent of the Holy Spirit, are in the upper part of the background. Below the dove and just above the heads of the two Apostles who are at the farther end of the group the two words ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܠܗܘܬܐ, i.e. genuflexion, are written in Estrangelâ letters. One of the services held on Whitsunday was called genuflexion.<sup>3</sup> The miniature is framed in an ornamental border.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts 2:1-4. According to the account contained in the Book of Acts not only the twelve Apostles, but all the believers, were assembled in the upper room at this time; and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St Peter see Plates xxix, xxxvii, xlvii, lxxv, lxxix, and lxxxi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford, 1879-1901), II, 2563. Genuflexion is the title of Acts 2:1-21 in the Syrian Church.

<sup>4</sup> For another representation of Pentecost see Plate v. This scene is also portrayed in the Rabbûlâ Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 1. 56), the Leningrad lectionary (Public Library, Cod. gr. 21), the Paris Gregory Nazianzen (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510), the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4), and in a fresco at Qeledjar. See C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, xi (1929), Figs. 85 and 86; H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plate xlv; J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band LII, 2 (1906), Tafel ix; and G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Geuthner, 1925-1928), Plate 52.

# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

PLATE LXXI.

## THE TRANSFIGURATION.

Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Jerusalem.

Codex 28, 1222 A.D., fol. 174.

For a description of the MS. see p. 121.

Above in the middle Christ is standing in a mandorla. A nimbus with a cross surrounds his head, and his feet are bare. His right hand is extended; and in the left, which is close to his body, he holds a roll. The name Jesus Christ is written beside the nimbus.

Moses is standing at the right and Elijah at the left. 'Moses the prophet' is written over the head of one and 'Elijah the prophet' over the head of the other. Moses is portrayed as a young man with short, dark hair and a smooth face. His right hand is resting on the mandorla; and in the left he holds a book, which doubtless contains the law revealed to him on Mount Sinai. There is a nimbus around his head, and his feet are bare.

Elijah on the other hand is depicted as an old man with long hair and beard, both of which are white. His hands are extended, and his head is inclined slightly forward. The latter is surrounded by a nimbus, and his feet are bare.

Below are the three Apostles, Peter, James, and John, the name being written above or beside the head of each. Peter, who is at the left, is an old man with short, curly hair and a short beard, both of which are white. He is kneeling on his right knee and pointing upward with his right hand. In the left he holds some small object, probably a roll; and his feet are bare.<sup>1</sup>

John, who is seated in the middle, is a young man with long, dark hair and a smooth face. His hands are extended in wonder, and his feet are bare.<sup>2</sup>

James is sitting at the right. He is a middle-aged man with short hair and a beard of medium length, both of which are dark. He is bending over in an attitude of meditation. The head of each of the three Apostles is surrounded by a nimbus, and the nimbi about the heads of Peter and James are picked out with small points.

The Transfiguration takes place on the top of a rocky mountain. Two

<sup>1</sup> For other pictures of St Peter see Plates xxix, xxxvii, xlvii, lxy, lxix, and lxx.

<sup>2</sup> For other pictures of St John see Plates xxii, xxvii, xxxi, xxxv, xlii, xlviii, lii, lv, lxy, and lxvi.

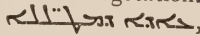


The Transfiguration.





## Descriptions of Miniatures

conventional trees are growing among the rocks, but there is no other vegetation. In the upper part of the background, at the right, the words , i.e. the Feast of Tabernacles, are written in Estrangelâ letters. The picture is enclosed in an ornamental border.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Leningrad lectionary (Public Library, Cod. gr. 21), the Paris Gregory Nazianzen (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510), and the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4) contain pictures of the Transfiguration. See C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, XI (1929), Fig. 103; H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plate xxviii; and J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band LII, 2 (1906), Tafel xxx.

### PLATE LXXII.

#### SPECIMENS OF TEXT.

##### 1.

For a brief description of Codex 14 see page 58.

##### 2.

For a brief description of Codex 5 see page 113.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

[Footnotes to page 124]

<sup>1</sup> The Crucifixion is depicted in the Paris Gregory Nazianzen (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510), in the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4), and on a painted panel from the Sancta Sanctorum now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library. See H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du vi<sup>e</sup> au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1929), Plate xx1; J. Strzygowski, 'Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band LII, 2 (1906), Tafeln x and xxiv; and C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, xi (1929), Fig. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. 28:1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mark 16:1—Luke 24:1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matt. 28:2.

<sup>5</sup> The women at the tomb are represented in the Leningrad lectionary (Public Library, Cod. gr. 21), in a painted panel from the Sancta Sanctorum now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library, and in a mosaic in the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. See C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures,' *The Art Bulletin*, xi (1929), Figs. 75, 77, and 82.

## INDICES



## INDEX OF PLATES

Plate I	Gregory Nazianzen.
II	The Harrowing of Hell.
III	Christ appearing to Gregory Nazianzen and Habakkuk.
IV	Mamas the Martyr.
V	Pentecost.
VI	The Martyrdom of the Maccabees.
VII	Gregory Nazianzen and Cyprian.
VIII	Gregory Nazianzen and Julian the Assessor.
IX	The Nativity.
X	John of Damascus.
XI	The Obsequies of Basil the Great.
XII	The Baptism.
XIII	Gregory Nazianzen seated.
XIV	Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa.
XV	Gregory Nazianzen and Athanasius.
XVI	Gregory Nazianzen addressing the Second Ecumenical Council in 381 A.D.
XVII	Gregory Nazianzen preaching on Love of the Poor.
XVIII	Gregory Nazianzen and his Father.
XIX	St Matthew.
XX	St Mark.
XXI	St Luke.
XXII	St John.
XXIII	St Luke.
XXIV	St Matthew.
XXV	St Mark.
XXVI	St Luke.
XXVII	St John.
XXVIII	St Matthew.
XXIX	St Mark and St Peter.
XXX	St Luke and St Paul.
XXXI	St John and Prochorus.
XXXII	St Matthew.
XXXIII	St Mark.

## Greek and Syrian Miniatures

Plate XXXIV	St Luke.
XXXV	St John.
XXXVI	St James the Just.
XXXVII	St Peter.
XXXVIII	St Jude.
XXXIX	St Mark.
XL	Christ.
XLI	St Matthew.
XLII	St Mark.
XLIII	St Luke.
XLIV	St John.
XLV	St Luke.
XLVI	St James the Just.
XLVII	St Peter.
XLVIII	St John.
XLIX	St Jude.
L	St Paul.
LI	St Luke.
LII	St John.
LIII	St Mark.
LIV	St Luke.
LV	St John.
LVI	Job and Bildad.
LVII	Job and Eliphaz.
LVIII	Job and Bildad.
LIX	Job, Eliphaz, and Bildad.
LX	Job and his Three Friends.
LXI	Job and his Three Friends.
LXII	Job and the Lord.

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Adam	Plates II, LXVIII.
Angels or archangels	III, IX, XII, LXVI, LXVII, LXIX.
Apostles, the	V, LXV, LXIX, LXX, LXXI.
Ascension, the	LXIX.
Athanasius	XV.
Baptism, the	XII.
Basil the Great	XI.
Bildad	LVI, LVIII, LIX, LX, LXI.
Christ	II, III, IX, XII, XL, LXIV, LXV, LXVI, LXVIII, LXIX, LXXI.
Crucifixion, the	LXVI.
Cyprian	VII.
David	II, LXVIII.
Eleazar	VI.
Elijah	LXXI.
Eliphaz	LVII, LIX, LX, LXI.
Eve	II, LXVIII.
Gabriel, the Archangel	LXVI.
Gregory, the father of Gregory Na- zianzen	XVIII.
Gregory Nazianzen	I, II, III, VII, VIII, XI, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII.
Gregory of Nyssa	XI, XIV.
Habakkuk, the prophet	III.
Harrowing of Hell, the	II, LXVIII.
Holy Spirit, the	V, LXX.
James the Just	XXXVI, XLVI.
“ “ son of Zebedee	LXXI.
Job	LVI, LVII, LVIII, LIX, LX, LXI, LXII.



# Greek and Syrian Miniatures

John of Damascus	X.
“ the Baptist	XII, LXVIII.
“ “ Evangelist	XXII, XXVII, XXXI, XXXV, XLIV, XLVIII, LII, LV, LXV, LXVI, LXXI.
Jordan, god of the	XII.
Joseph	IX.
Judas Iscariot	LXV.
Jude	XXXVIII, XLIX.
Julian, the assessor	VIII.
Last Supper, the	LXV.
Longinus	LXVI.
Lord, the	LXII.
Luke the Evangelist	XXI, XXIII, XXVI, XXX, XXXIV, XLI, XLV, LI, LIV.
Maccabees, martyrdom of the	VI.
Magi, the	IX.
Mamas, the martyr	IV.
Mark the Evangelist	XX, XXV, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXIX, XLII, LIII.
Mary Magdalene	LXVII.
Mary, the other	LXVIII.
Mary the Virgin	IX, LXVI, LXIX.
Matthew the Evangelist	XIX, XXIV, XXVIII, XXXII, XLI.
Michael, the Archangel	LXVI.
Moses	LXXI.
Nativity, the	IX.
Paul the Apostle	XXX, L.
Pentecost	V, LXX.
Peter the Apostle	XXIX, XXXVII, XLVII, LXV, LXIX, LXX, LXXI.
Prochorus, the disciple of St John	XXXI.
Prophets, the	II, LXVIII.
Simeon	LXIV.
Solomon	II.
Spinning and Weaving	LXIII.
Transfiguration, the	LXXI.
Zophar	LX, LXI.



# Date Due

RESERVE

(Met)

Gr Paleog

Reserve

JA 25 '55

FE 14 '55

MY 20 '55

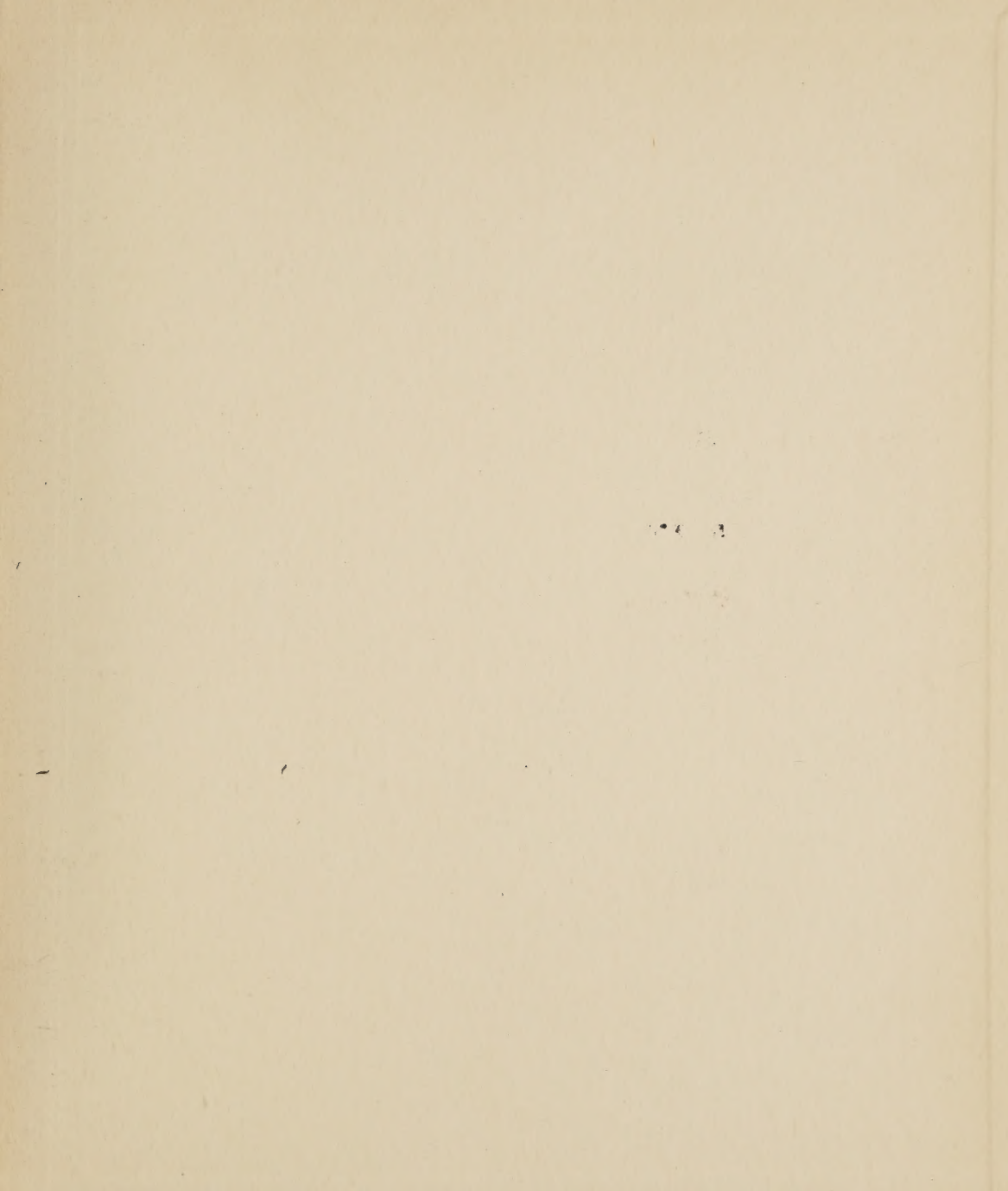
JE 7 '55

Reserve

~~RECEIVED~~

~~RECEIVED~~







ND2930 .H36  
Greek and Syrian miniatures in Jerusalem  
Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00142 9580